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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES  
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R & A No. 890.2

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JAPANESE ATTEMPTS AT INFILTRATION AMONG MUSLIMS IN  
RUSSIA AND HER BORDERLANDS

Description

An analysis of Japanese organization, and methods of propaganda, intelligence, and subversion as illustrated by operations directed to the Muslims of Russia and her border areas.

August 1944

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Summary

Japanese organization for infiltration among Muslim minorities in Russia has been characterized by:

1. Patience and persistence over many years despite political changes.
2. Effective use of unofficial patriotic societies.
3. Coordination of work of those societies with that of military intelligence and the Foreign Office by means of interlocking personnel in Japan.
4. Reiteration with little change over several decades of a few propaganda themes.
5. Skillful agent penetration and recruitment of native personnel.
6. Merging of intelligence, subversion, and propaganda functions.

The evidence available does not indicate that the results of the infiltration are of present military importance. Its chief value to the Japanese is in the field of intelligence.

The material is of value, however, for the pattern it gives of Japanese methods of espionage and subversion--methods which are currently being employed among other groups and in other areas about which we know less.

During the last two years there has been a shift in overt Japanese activities among Muslims from the Anti-Soviet to the anti-British front. There is, however, as yet no evidence that any permanent change in Japanese anti-Russian activities has taken place.



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## I. INTRODUCTION

### A. Purpose of the Study

Japanese methods of infiltration and the organization of Japanese espionage and subversion have been little studied and are still less known. One phase of Japanese infiltration -- that among the Muslim minorities of the Soviet Union -- is presented here. The study has been made possible by Japan's old but lively concern over the Russian borderlands and the self-glorifying publications of the Black Dragon Society. For more than forty years the Society, the dominating pressure group behind Japan's Pan-Asiatic program, has been aggressive in espionage and subversion. While it veils with secrecy its living members and their activities, it generously publicizes and praises the patriotic deeds of expansionist-minded Japanese now dead. Since the Society first made a name for itself in anti-Russian activities, they may be more successfully studied than those more recently initiated in other areas. Black Dragon publications have provided the bulk of the information for this paper.

Though much of the information given here is historical, it shows patterns of operation which all available scraps of current intelligence indicate are still in use. This report does not, in

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general, name Japanese agents now active in the Soviet Union, but it does point out where, how, and through what channels they are probably operating. Moreover, it is certain that similar patterns have been and are being followed by Japanese agents in other areas and with other groups -- e.g., in India or Latin America and vis-a-vis the Buddhists, the Roman Catholics, and even the Eastern Orthodox. Since even the historical aspects have not previously been so fully described in any language but Japanese, it is believed that this study should be of value to those attempting to unravel Japanese underground activities.

Lists of related organizations and personnel--living and dead--are provided in Appendices I and II respectively. They may help specialists to correlate bits of information otherwise meaningless. Appendix III describes the target -- the Muslims of the USSR -- their number and distribution.

#### B. Relation to Other Reports in the Muslim Series

Three reports on Japanese infiltration among Muslims have already been issued. R & A No. 890, "Japanese Infiltration among the Muslims throughout the World," is an over-all summary. R & A No. 890.1, "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China," contains an extensive description of operations in *China*. R & A No. 890.3, "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims, Annex III, Near East," is a brief summary for the Near East. The present



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study relates to Russia and the Russian borderlands. It has a somewhat fuller account of organizations in Japan than have any of the earlier reports in the series.

Sinkiang as a base for Muslim activities is fully covered in R & A No. 890.1 and is, therefore, passed over here.

C. Chronological Framework of Japanese Interest in Minorities in Russia.

Fear of Russia first developed in Japan at the end of the eighteenth Century when Russian ships reached Japanese waters and Russian pioneers began to filter into the Maritime Province, and Sakhalin. The fear increased when Russia acquired the Maritime Province from China and established Vladivostok in 1859. It was an important factor in the minds of a number of the leaders of the Japanese Imperial Restorations of 1867 and motivated early post-Restoration Japanese policy in Korea.

Subsequent events -- the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railway, Russian leadership in the three-power intervention which forced Japan to relinquish Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, Russia's lease of the same areas three years later, Russian occupation of Manchuria during the Boxer Uprising of 1900, and Russo-Japanese competitive intrigues at the Korean Court--culminated in the Russo-Japanese

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War of 1904-05. In this war Japan won a limited victory, established herself in Korea and Southern Manchuria, gained half of Sakhalin, and received a promise of fishing rights of the Pacific Coast of Siberia.

There followed a period of Russo-Japanese rapprochement and division of spheres in Manchuria and Mongolia. This lasted until the Russian Revolution when Japan joined Britain and the United States in the occupation of Siberia and strongly supported the anti-Soviet forces. Japanese troops withdrew only after the Washington Conference.

Relations with the Soviet Union were re-established in 1925 but have remained turbulent ever since, with the annual fisheries auctions and mining operations in Northern Sakhalin causing chronic disputes. Since Japan's occupation of Manchuria in 1931 border incidents have been frequent. Japan has sought to establish bulwarks against communist ideology as well as Red troops and planes.

Throughout her modern history Japan has made preparations for possible hostilities with Russia. Intelligence and a potential fifth column in the Russian rear have been important considerations. Muslim groups form a solid belt along Russia's Asiatic borders (see Appendix III) in a rich economic region and along vital lines of communication. Their resistance to Russian nationalism under Tsarism and their oppositions to anti-religious measures under

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Communism provided openings for penetration. The Japanese seized on such opportunities to exploit religious discontent just as they supported the atheistically inclined Social revolutionaries during the Russo-Japanese War.

D. Note on Names of Persons

In this report, all but Chinese names are given in the Western fashion, that is, with personal names first, followed by surnames. The exception in case of Chinese names is made because of their own custom of using the Oriental manner of surname first, even in translation into foreign tongues. Thus, in the Chinese name, Ma Ch'eng-lung, Ma is the surname and Ch'eng-lung the personal name. On the other hand, in Japanese and other names, the last word of the whole name is the surname. Thus in the Japanese name, Senjuro Hayashi, the surname is Hayashi and the personal name Senjuro. The same practice is followed with regard to Muslim nationals of Soviet Russia who, contrary to the orthodox Muslim usage, have assumed surnames in the Russian manner. To avoid possible confusion it should be explained that R & A No. 890.1, "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China," follows the Chinese system in Japanese as well as in Chinese names -- surname followed by personal name.

## II. Agencies of Infiltration

Almost all Japanese propaganda among Muslims has been activated by three principal agencies; the patriotic societies, which have provided initiative, fervor, and continuity, and Army intelligence and the Foreign Office, which have increasingly given financial support and official sponsorship.

### A. The Patriotic Societies

Japan's growing consciousness of her role as a rising power led, after the Restoration, to the appearance there of an increasing number of patriotic groups which were bent on preventing the encroachment of Western powers into Asia on the one hand and on furthering Japanese Asiatic expansion on the other. These societies played a major part in the development of the Japanese infiltration pattern among the Muslims of the Soviet Union. Only a few which are important or typical are described here.

1. The Black Ocean Society (Gonyosha). The expansionist purpose of the earliest important patriotic society was symbolized in its name, the Black Ocean Society. (The stretch of water between Kyushu and the mainland is known to the Japanese as the Genkainada, or Black Sea). It sponsored a number of enterprises directed against Russia and Russian territorial claims on the continent of Asia. For



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example, the Hall of Pleasurable Delights (Ikkuzendo) was set up in Hankow as early as 1887, as a cover for agents of infiltration into Sinkiang and Russian Central Asia. Its eight-point program included investigation of financial conditions and tax grievances; of economic and agricultural improvement; of the capital required to develop the region; of Russian, Tibetan, Burmese, and Indian defenses in Central Asia; of the condition of the roads; and exploration among such groups as the Muslim and Buddhist clergy, the local nomads and Chinese, and important persons to be identified, which might be exploited for "our purpose." The agents, nine of whom are known by name, traveled as Chinese itinerant peddlers of "literature and medicines." It is not known whether they peddled political propaganda or whether, as is more likely judging from the name of the headquarters in Hankow, their stock in trade was no more than obscene photographs and dope. Not all spoke Chinese well enough to accomplish the Black Ocean aims and some ran into trouble with the Russian police in Kashgar. Those who were arrested by the Russians have not been heard of since, except for one whose loss of face prevented his return to Japan and who is reputed to have escaped and settled in Burma.

A more successful enterprise organized by the Black Ocean Society was a jujitsu school in Vladivostok, with a program similar to that of the Hall of Pleasurable Delights but more limited in its

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scope. Its work extended to Eastern and Central Siberia, especially along the route of the Trans-Siberian Railway then under construction.

A member of the Black Ocean group left Hankow for Sapporo in 1893 to run a school training spies for Russian territory. He later contributed personnel to the jujitsu school and in 1897 and 1898 set out on photographing expeditions around Khabarovsk. His earlier experience in Central Asia must have stood him in good stead, for none of his group was arrested.

2. The East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai). The name describes the Society's aims, even though it was the result of a merger of the East Asia Society and the One-Culture Society in 1898. Originally intended to emphasize their common system of writing as a basis for Sino-Japanese rapprochement its activities have not been confined to China, and its language and regional training program has aided in work among Muslims. In 1939 the Society had 4,000 members.

The East Asia One-Culture School, known to English-speaking persons as the Tung Wen College and to the Japanese as the Toa Dobun Shoin, was organized in Shanghai for the training of members. By 1908 its 272 graduates were scattered throughout China, India, Annam, Burma, the Philippines, Mongolia, "but primarily among Russian-held Muslims." The school now occupies the buildings of the Chiaotung University, seized by the Japanese in 1937. At present it is

supported by army funds and in Chinese circles is frankly known as the "Japanese Spy College." One of its instructors of Turki and subversive tactics is reputed to be Qurban Ali, who came to Japan from Shanghai and Manchuria in 1924 on the invitation of Ki Inukai, the founder of the Society. Qurban Ali has a record of subversive activity against the Soviet Union. He also became the president of the Tokyo Islamic Order and an instructor of Turki languages at the Tokyo Military College.

3. The Black Dragon Society (Kokuryukai) was founded in 1901 by Ryohei Uchida and was named after the Amur or Black Dragon River 黑龍江 in Manchuria. Its immediate purpose was preparation for a war with Russia, whose territory lay across the Amur. All the charter members had at one time done intelligence work on the continent, and believed that Japan must challenge, fight and defeat Russia.

The Black Dragon Society is the most important of the contemporary patriotic societies. It has a membership of perhaps 10,000 and has been active all the way from the United States and Latin America to Ethiopia and North Africa. Former Premier Koki Hirota and an unknown number of other high officials are members. The arch-patriot Mitsuru Toyama, who died in October 1944, was an adviser of the Black Dragon. Toyama was a director of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, Japan's official unified



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political organization, as is Yoshihisa Kuzuu, the Society's present president. On 3 June 1943, Kuzuu in a radio broadcast on behalf of the Society threatened Roosevelt and Churchill with dire consequences unless the United Nations armies and navies surrendered unconditionally to Japan:

The Black Dragon Society maintains in Tokyo its own school, the Nationalists' Training Academy, now run by Giichi Fukushima. In addition it aided in promoting the Tokyo and Osaka Foreign Language Schools.

4. The Reawakening of Greater Asia Society (Dai - A - Gi Kai) had its headquarters in Mukden. It was organized in 1909 under the name Reawakening of Asia Society. Following the Chinese Revolution in 1911, the headquarters were moved to Manchuria and the name of the society and its ambitions enlarged to encompass a "Greater Asia." The society formed branches in China, Siam, Afghanistan, Turkey, Persia, and India. Its fourfold program included the study of economic, geographic, educational, colonial, and religious conditions and organizations; the sending out of agents; the founding of branch societies; and the dissemination of published and oral propaganda. It claimed the more specific purpose of establishing "cooperation between the Muslim peoples of Central Asia and Japan to free them from Russian chains."



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5. The White Wolf and Turan Societies. From the same leadership have emanated other lesser societies and organizations oriented specifically toward Muslims. The White Wolf Society was organized in 1924, following the arrival in Japan of a representative of the Pan-Turan Society of Budapest in 1921. The Turan Society of Japan was set up in 1933 with the aid of the founders of the Black Ocean and the Black Dragon Societies. Both organizations are probably affiliated with the Bozkurt or Grey Wolf Society in Turkey and the Pan-Turan Society of Budapest, which are made up predominantly of Muslim refugees from Russia and especially from Russian Turkistan. They and their Japanese counterparts stress racial rather than religious unity, on the basis of an ancient belief that the white or gray she-wolf was the common ancestor of both the Turkic and the Mongol peoples. It is probable that they have been carrying on subversive activities against the Soviet Union with the establishment of an independent Pan-Turkic and Pan-Islamic state in Central Asia as an ultimate goal.

6. General Influence. The patriotic societies are private and independent, yet related to each other and to the government by innumerable personal ties. Toyama, godfather of them all and founder of the Black Ocean Society was an adviser of the Black Dragon and the hero of every expansionist in and outside the government.

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Chikashi Hirayama and Choichi Kaji, charter members of the Black Dragon, were among those who organized the East Asia One-Culture Society. The two great political party leaders Shigenobu Okuma and Ki Inukai collaborated in many Black Ocean and Black Dragon undertakings though they are were not actually members.

The societies differ in emphasis but share a common patriotic (and predatory) purpose. They are powerful, ever-present pressure groups behind Japanese aggression, permeating the political life of the nation. Their leaders have helped to gain important government and army positions for those whom they consider to be "sincere" persons, while not infrequently eliminating those who do not serve their purposes. Almost every modern assassination in Japan can be linked with Toyama although never by ties that will stand up in a court of law.

Abroad these societies are important and dangerous because of the zealous membership drawn from every walk of life. Some members are educated in languages and trained in subversive tactics. Others merely collect information as shopkeepers, tourists, students of Islam, salesmen of literature, fisherman, wrestling teachers, businessmen, professors, priests, and archaeologists. A middle-class shopkeeper in Fukuoka will transfer his drygoods to Chita, Khabarovsk, or Kashmir, living there for years as an honest, industrious, patient,

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and peaceful citizen, quietly gathering local facts. This service gives him in his own eyes and in the eyes of his countrymen nobility and spiritual worth. Black Dragon publications are full of biographies of little men who earned a place of honor by their devotion to the patriotic cause. The fruits of their labor are channeled to the government and military forces through the society leaders. This interlocking directorate has taken the initiative in inviting to Japan and sponsoring such Russian Muslim leaders as Ibrahim and Iyad Ishaqi.

#### B. The Army

It is not always possible to separate the functions of the patriotic societies from those of army intelligence. In a country with a warrior tradition and peacetime conscription there is no sharp line separating civilians from military personnel. Everyone serves. Cooperation has been close and activities mutually complementary. This has been due to identity of purpose, overlapping membership, and frequently interlocking leadership. The patriotic societies draw a large number of members from the armed forces and supply recruits to military intelligence. As a result the biographies in society publications give occasional clues to the undercover activities of the Japanese Army. They make it clear that the strategic possibilities of espionage and fifth-column work



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among Russia's twenty million alien Muslims were obvious to the Japanese General Staff. "The army has been a strong supporter of the "Japanese Muslim Policy" ever since the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

For example, a Colonel Yasumasa Fukushima, who had been a military attaché in Peking, Berlin, and the Balkans, traveled on horseback through the Caucasus, the Volga region, the lower Urals, Siberia, and Central Asia between 1883 and 1897. He established contacts in Manchuria, Mongolia, Persia, Turkey, and Afghanistan. A Black Dragon publication states, "His trips were spy efforts to learn what the Russians were doing and to make friends with the Muslim peoples." That Russia was aware of his travels, if not of their full purpose, is shown by the fact that the Tsar and Tsarina gave him an audience before he set out on a trip into Russian Central Asia in 1892. A Brief entry in a Samarkand Almanac for 1896 reads, "August 9. Colonel of the Japanese Armed Forces, Fukushima, arrives." The hidden fruits of his efforts may be measured by his rewards of a generalship, a peerage, and the governorship of the Kwantung Peninsula. Others did not travel as openly nor were they as successful in concealing their motives, for we find accounts of their summary arrest by the Russian police. Two who escaped detention were Uehara (see Appendix II), arrested in 1912 at Tashkent,



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and Sadao Araki (now General), arrested in 1916 at Irkutsk.

Another early army exponent of the Muslim policy was also a military attache', Colonel Motojiro Akashi, detailed to France, Sweden, Switzerland, and Russia. On the eve of his departure for Europe in 1901, he discusses possibilities of infiltration into Russia with two leaders of the Black Ocean Society: Uchida, the organizer of the jujitsu school in Vladivostok, and of the Black Dragon Society, and Sugiyama, the backer of the Hall of Pleasurable Delights in Hankow. Akashi's extra-official assignment was to establish contact with Russian revolutionaries. In this he amply succeeded, for the notorious Father Gapon who led the march to the palace on "Bloody Sunday" of 9 January 1905, and the agent-provocateur Azef of the Socialist Revolutionary Party were among his friends. When Japan attacked the Russian fleet at Port Arthur two days before the formal declaration of the Russo-Japanese War, Akashi had already left for Stockholm to attend the Russian Socialist Congress. There he arranged to supply arms for the revolutionary uprisings in Kiev, Odessa, and St. Petersburg.

More significant than Akashi's dabblings with the revolutionists, however, was his friendship with the noted Tatar Muslim, Abdur Rashid, Ibrahim (see Appendix II), whom he met in the Russian capital. Ibrahim was then adviser on Muslim affairs to the Russian Government and publisher of the Tatar language newspaper Ulfet in St. Petersburg.

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The effects of this rapprochement have been numerous and far-reaching. Akashi worked with Ibrahim in the organization of Muslim resistance in the Russian rear. On his return to Japan he arranged for Ibrahim's son to be educated in Japan at the expense of the Black Dragon Society. In 1906 and 1909 Ibrahim himself visited Japan and entered into closer collaboration with the Japanese.

During World War I Akashi was Assistant Chief of Staff and collaborated with General Sadao Araki (see Appendix II) in promoting Baron Ungern von Sternberg's Autonomous Mongol Empire. Together they also directed the Japanese occupation of Siberia.

Following General Akashi's death in 1919, General Rensuke Isogai, director of Army Intelligence and later of the Military Affairs Bureau, took up the Muslim banner. He and General Araki upheld the "imperative necessity of a strong Japanese policy toward the Muslims vis-a-vis Russia if Japan wants to carry out her plan for hegemony in East Asia."

General Araki, member of the Supreme War Council, War Minister from 1931 to 1933, Minister of Education from 1937 to 1938, and an important influence behind Premier Tojo, was, however, ostensibly an active advocate of the Russian Orthodox policy. He therefore only covertly endorsed the Muslim policy.

In 1932 the patriotic societies believed that the Japanese Muslim policy needed more vigorous implementation as well as a wider field in the Near and Middle East.

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Wakabayashi and Tanaka, both Muslim converts and protégés of Toyama and Uchida, approached Generals Isogai and Araki to enlist their official support. As a result, groups of officers, including those recruited by Wakabayashi and Tanaka, were trained in Muslim languages and religion. Many ostensible converts to Islam subsequently made annual pilgrimages to Mecca where they made contacts, spread propaganda, and obtained intelligence.

Araki's successor as War Minister in 1934 was General Senjuro Hayashi, who actively championed the Muslim policy. Hayashi was one of the founders of both the Good Neighbour Association and the Greater Japan Muslim League. After Hayashi became Prime Minister in 1937 he founded with Ibrahim the Greater Japan Muslim League for the dissemination of propaganda throughout the Muslim World.

Others in high army circles have sponsored various Muslim organizations. In 1938 the army set up in Peking the Muslim Youth Corps under Shinzo Takagaki to train Muslim youths for special service in the army. Muslim youths of Russian birth or parentage were invited in 1942 to train as Japanese aides in the promotion of Greater East Asia, rather than to serve as army privates. Lieutenant General Nobutaka Shioten, president of the Japan Residents' Muslim League, has recently (February 1944) been the most active exponent in the Japanese Diet of greater funds and personnel for work among the Muslims of Asia.



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### C. The Foreign Office

The Foreign Office (Gaimusho), whose work is closely interrelated with that of the patriotic societies, since 1905 has been increasingly active in supporting propaganda and cultural penetration.

The foreign service in Muslim countries has been both a training school for Muslim "Exports" and an attractive career for those already adept.- Akio Kasama, for instance, one of Japan's leading writers on Muslim's subjects, was formerly in the diplomatic service in Turkey and in Persia. Students sponsored by the patriotic societies are now among the Embassy secretaries at Ankara and Kabul.

The Foreign Office, either directly or through such affiliates as the society for International Cultural Relations, has channeled government funds to a great variety of activities. It has supported the East Asia One-Culture School (Toa Dobun Shoin) and the Tokyo and Osaka Foreign Language Schools, which teach Russian, and other languages of Muslim usage.

Missions both to and from Muslim areas have been encouraged, and the Foreign Office has probably been instrumental in bringing to Japan such prominent Soviet Muslim refugees as Abdul-Rashid Ibrahim and Iyad Ishaqi.

Conferences are a favorite infiltration device, and have been



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backed by the Foreign Office (see pp. 26-30 ). Directly or indirectly the Foreign Office has subsidized Muslim organizations in Japan (see pp. 31-37 for list).

Finally, the Foreign Office directly supports Espionage by contributing funds to agents, both from Tokyo and from Embassies and consulates in or near Muslim areas.

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III. PATTERNS OF OPERATIONA. Introduction

The division of the pattern of Japanese operations into propaganda, intelligence, and subversion and sabotage is here artificially adopted for purposes of analysis. While some Japanese act only as propagandists, others as intelligence agents, and still others as saboteurs, the large majority combines the three occupations simultaneously or alternately as need be. An agent passes from propaganda to intelligence work and on to sabotage and subversion almost imperceptibly.

B. Propaganda1. The Propagandistsa. Japanese

i. The making of a propagandist. Three stages can frequently be distinguished in the careers of Japanese propagandists to the Muslims. First, interest in Islam as Japan's potential military or political ally is acquired either through membership in a patriotic society, residence in a Muslim territory or in Russia, or merely by association with persons already similarly interested. Second comes official conversion to Islam and the assumption of an Islamic name. This is really the public debut

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of the new-born Muslim and officially launches him on his propaganda career. Third is activity to promote a Muslim alliance with Japan. This may take any or all of the following forms: a trip to Mecca to make contacts, make himself known, and advertise Japan as a potentially Muslim nation willing to learn from Islam; organization of a society, a periodical, or a newspaper at home or abroad on funds which are either given by the Foreign Office or collected privately in army and patriotic society circles; extensive writing on Muslim questions. If the article is for the Muslim periodicals outside Japan, most frequently the signature is merely "A Japanese Muslim." If it is for the Muslim press at home, subsequently circulated abroad, either the agent's Japanese or Muslim name, or both, may be used. Lastly come a great number of other cultural activities, such as going abroad to study in a Muslim school and to make friends there; welcoming Muslim celebrities to Japan; corresponding with them on political and religious subjects; and arranging lectures and tours for Muslims in Japan.

Six men stand out among Japanese propaganda writers on Muslim questions. They are authorities on Islam and have dealt extensively in verbal and printed propaganda among Muslims. Others, especially those who were simultaneously engaged in subversion and intelligence, are listed in Appendix II, "Who's Who." The outstanding intelligence

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and subversion agents will be noted in the next two sections of this chapter.

ii. Hassan Murshid Effendi Hatano. Hassan Murshid Effendi Hatano, the earliest agent and contributor to the Black Dragon organ, Greater Asia, was converted to Islam with much publicity in 1911 and has subsequently been publisher of Islam and Islamic Unity in Tokyo. He also sent articles in English to the Muslim press throughout the world, which we find reviewed in the Russian Hir Isloma, the Italian Oriente Moderno, and the Indian Review of Religions, during the first twenty years of this century. Hatano's articles, even when signed "A Japanese Muslim," are written in a style distinctly his own and easily recognizable. They consist of pleadings for more Muslim missionaries and literature in Japan, funds for the building of a mosque, descriptions of Japan which read like a tourist booklet, and professions of great humility with regard to "what Islam can teach Japan." In the twenties, Hatano's articles disappeared from the press. Since his name is not in Toa Senkaku it is possible that he is still alive but engaged in work other than propaganda. His Black Dragon membership and Muslim connections are a good background for subversive work in some Muslim territory.

iii. Teijiro Sakuma. Teijiro Sakuma, the founder of the Society of Light in Shanghai and the Society of Islamic Culture in Tokyo, is a prolific writer on Muslim questions, always emphasizing



Japanese interest and support of both the Pan-Islam and the Pan-Turan movements. A convert to Islam, he was known in Shanghai as Tso Tung-shan. When he was in Central Asia as Black Dragon investigator of the Tatars, Kazaks, and Tungans, Hadjet-Lache, the Tsarist investigator there, reported finding leaflets in native tongues urging the Muslim natives to work for an autonomous Muslim state with Japan's help. Sakuma has "traveled" in India, Asia Minor, Turkey, Mongolia, Manchuria, and Sinkiang. He was closely associated with Qurban Ali in the latter's propagandistic ventures supported by the Foreign Office and he edited the Light of Islam in Shanghai in the early twenties. An extensive list of his publications on Muslim questions appears in the Harvard-Yenching Index to Japanese Periodicals for 1940.

iv. Akio Kasama. Akio Kasama, fifty-nine years old, has been a prolific writer on Muslim questions. Long associated with the Foreign Office, he has held diplomatic posts in Iran, where he was credited with the organization of Soviet Muslim espionage, France, Portugal, and South America. In 1939 he was one of the directors of the Institute for Islamic Studies. At present he is army administrator of an unspecified area in the South Seas.

v. Hajime Kobayashi. Hajime Kobayashi, one of the directors of the Institute of Islamic Studies and head of its

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research department, is also publisher of the Kaikyo-ken (Islamic World). He is a student of Muslim culture and Turki languages and is also said to know Russian. Early in 1941 he was reported to be in Mexico, where together with several other Japanese (Fuminaga Fukii and Masao Fukunachi) he was connected with a mysterious transaction involving ten million dollars, purported to be for subversive and propagandistic activity in South America. Perhaps this should be understood in connection with the development of a Japanese "Roman Catholic Policy" in Latin America. Kobayashi's present whereabouts is unknown.

vi. Koji Okubo. Koji Okubo, the official head of the Institute of Islamic Studies, is a student of Russian and Turki peoples and languages and is known for his writings on Pan-Islam and its relation to the Central Asiatic peoples. He is also an active proponent of the Japanese Pan-Turanian policy. A close associate of Toyama and Uchida, he has twice been exchange professor in the Near East.

vii. Chishu Naito. Chishu Naito, doctor of literature, professor in the Tokyo Women's Higher Normal School, Meiji University, and Kokugaku University, is fifty-seven years old. He has written numerous books on the Muslim and the Turki questions and toured the Near East and the Balkans for the Foreign Office between 1923 and 1929. He was sent to Turkey on several other

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cultural and diplomatic missions. He is considered an authority on Russia, Turkey, Iran, and the Balkans. Both his Turkish and his Russian are excellent. Compared with the other Japanese propagandists, his writings show great subtlety and scholarship.

b. Non-Japanese

i. Recruitment. Japan has been assiduous in cultivating, flattering, supporting, and utilizing leading Muslims. They are located and contacted by diplomatic officials or military attaches abroad, softened up by subsidized visits to Japan and sume entertainment, and all too frequently used successfully in Japanese propaganda. The flight of some of the more fervent and literary of the Muslims of Soviet Russia gave Japan opportunities which she has exploited skillfully.

ii. Abdur Rashid Ibrahim. In spite of Abdur Rashid Ibrahim's espionage activities on behalf of Japan during the Russo-Japanese war, so far as the Muslim world is concerned he is famous rather as an authority on Pan-Islam and as a leader of the Pan-Islamic movement than as an agent of Japanese imperialism. A Siberian of the Volga Tatar race, his whole life seems to have been ruled by an all-consuming passion for Pan-Islam. A fiery preacher, an eloquent writer, Ibrahim's devotion to the cause of Pan-Islam and Muslim independence from Christian domination played into the hands of

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Japan from the turn of the century until his death in September 1944. After one secret trip to Japan in 1906, another with a great deal of fanfare in 1909, and a spectacular escape from Russia to Turkey following arrest by the military police, he was noted as preacher, traveler, and editor of several Pan-Islamic and anti-Russian Muslim periodicals in Turkey, all laden with Japanese propaganda. His return to Japan in 1933 led to a flare-up of propaganda activity publicizing Japan as the world's new Muslim center. Still unknown are the activity and whereabouts of Ibrahim's son, brought to Japan for education at the expense of the Black Dragon Society in the early part of the century, but referred to by all Japanese sources as "Mr. X, the son of Ibrahim."

iii. Muhammad Abdul Hai Qurban Ali. Another celebrity among the Russian Muslims has been Muhammad Abdul Hai Qurban Ali, mullah and son of a mullah, mathematician and strategist, and leader of the "independent Bashkiria" and the "independent Kirghizia" movements during the Russian Civil War of 1918-22. Following two trips to Japan with groups of young Bashkir officers who were left there for training, Qurban Ali came to Tokyo at Inukai's invitation for permanent residence in 1924. Known in Russian as Kurbangali, Kurbangaliyev, and Kurban Aliev, he soon united about him most of the dissident Muslim elements in the Far East and, while teaching



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Turki tongues and subversive tactics in the Tokyo Military Academy and several patriotic schools, began the publication of the Turkish-language propaganda journal Yapon Mukhbiri on the funds of the Foreign Office. Until the arrival in Japan of Abdur Rashid Ibrahim and Iyad Ishaqi in 1933, he was the undisputed leader of anti-Russian activities among the Muslim refugees in Japan and Manchuria. Qurban Ali's latest residence is reported to be Shanghai, where he came after an ostentatious public quarrel with Iyad Ishaqi at the Tokyo Mosque opening in 1933. Whether this is really so, or whether his removal to Shanghai was merely a maneuver to bring him into closer touch with Japanese anti-Russian activities based in Manchuria and North China and directed at Sinkiang and Soviet Central Asia, or whether, as reported, he went there primarily to train spies in the Toa Dobun Shoin (Tung Wen College) in Shanghai, remains to be determined. His present whereabouts might furnish a clue to Japanese intentions in the field of Muslim intrigue.

iv. Iyad Ishaqi. Iyad Ishaqi (I. Ishakov in Russian), a Kazan Tatar novelist and playwright, known for his Pan-Turkic activities in Europe, arrived in Japan in 1933, invited by both Army and Foreign Office circles. He subsequently made a tour of Japan and Manchuria to draw the Muslim refugees from Russia into the organization called the Ural-Ural Cultural Association, also known

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as the Idel-Ural Independence League. A Turko-Tatar Muslim Congress at which Ishaqi presided was held in Kobe in May 1934. Ibrahim conducted prayers, and the last pretender to the Ottoman throne, Prince Abdul Kerim, made a brief speech. The delegates consisted of Tatars, Turks, Bashkirs, Uzbeks, Kirghiz, and Sarts. The purpose of the conference was the unification of all Turki Muslims in Asia to work for an independent Muslim state to be made up of parts of Russian Turkestan and Sinkian, and oriented in terms of "coöperation with Japan to build the New Order in East Asia." Ishaqi subsequently founded the Pan-Turanic periodical Milli Bayrak in Mukden along the lines of his Yeni Milli Yul, sponsored by the German Ministry of Propaganda in Berlin. The last report on Iyad Ishaqi places him in London in the summer of 1941, calling on the Polish General Sikorski in company with Mir Yaqub, an Azerbaijani refugee from Soviet Russia and Bozkurt member.

v. Yusuf Akchura Bey Oghlu. Yusuf Akchura Bey Oghlu (Yusuf Akchurin in Russian), a member of the famous Akchura family of Orenburg and Kazan, owners of the largest woolen mills in pre-revolutionary Russia, in 1941 was reported to be a member of the Administrative Council of the Turko-Tatars in the Far East. Whether or not he is the same person as the man of the same name known for his Pan-Turkic writings who taught at the University of Ankara in 1935 is not at present known. If he is, the Japanese Foreign Office

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must have scored another victory, for the man in question was at one time second only to Iyad Ishaqi and Ibrahim in the prestige he possessed throughout the Russian Muslim world. Member of the Central Muslim Committee in Russia prior to the Revolution and subsequently publisher of three different Pan-Turkic periodicals in Constantinople, Akchura is considered the highest academic authority on Pan-Turanism in Europe.

## 2. The Media

a. Conferences. In her cultivation of Muslims, Japan has leaned heavily on conferences and congresses as means of propaganda and recruitment of agents. Conferences preceded and followed by considerable publicity have been held in Japan or Japanese-dominated territory. The delegates have traveled at Japan's expense and have been feted while in Japan by patriotic, army, government, and business circles. At least eleven such conferences have been staged to disseminate propaganda among the Muslims, rally them to Japan's support, and help organize them into militantly pro-Japanese and anti-Soviet organizations. These are: (1) the Religious Congress, Tokyo, 1906; (2) the Race Equality Assembly, Tokyo, 1919; (3) the Pan-Asia Congress, Nagasaki, 1926; (4) Japan Muslim Conference, Tokyo, 1927; (5) the Young Asia Congress, Tokyo, 1933; (6) the Turko-Tatar Congress, Kobe, 1934; (7) the Muslim



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Anti-Communist Assembly, Harbin, 1936; (8) the First World Muslim Congress, Tokyo, 1939; (9) the Second Turko-Tatar Congress, Hsinking, 1941; (10) the Second World Muslim Congress, Tokyo, 1943 (February); (11) the East Asia Religious Cooperative Conference, Tokyo, 1943 (June).

b. The Press

i. Japanese Propaganda in the Muslim Press. Following the 1906 conference, Muslim newspapers throughout the world began to publish a growing volume of news from Japan: the Tatar Bayan ul-Hag in Kazan and Vakt in Orenburg; Terjuman in Crimea; Islam Dinnyassy, Turk Urdu, and Turk Udjagy in Turkey; San 'at on Hirfat in India. It is worth noting that many of the editors had visited Japan and that, in fact, several of the newspapers were not founded until after the conference, including the three Turkish newspapers whose editors were Muslim emigrants from Russia. Examination of the Muslim press outside the U.S.S.R. shows that a constant stream of pro-Japanese propaganda has been invading these periodicals, in ever-increasing quantity and of ever-increasing intensity, right up to and following the outbreak of the present war. Particularly vociferous, of course, have been those periodicals issued in Axis or Japanese-occupied territory such as the Yani-Milli Yul in Berlin or the Hil Bayrak in Mukden, both published for Muslim refugees from the Soviet Union by Iyad Ishaqi who was invited to Japan from Germany in 1933 by Hayashi and other patriotic society men.



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ii. Islamic Periodicals in Japan. Several Muslim

periodicals intended for general circulation in the Muslim world were successively established in Japan with the aid of the Foreign Office: Islamic Fraternity in 1910, the newspaper Islam in 1911, and Islamic Unity in 1914. The second was in Japanese, the first and third in both Japanese and English. An Arabic language press was not acquired until 1929 and not until then did Yapon Mukhbiri begin publication in Turkish. The Arabic fortnightly review Nippon appeared in 1938. In 1937 and 1938 a series of periodicals in Japanese with inserts in Turkic tongues spoken in Central Asia began publication. These were the Kaikyo Kenkyu, Kaikyo-ken Kenkyu Soshu, and the newspaper Islam which reappeared after several years' lapse. These publications were organs of the newly organized Japanese Institute of Islamic Studies and the Society for Islamic Culture, both semi-official organs of the Foreign Office. In 1938 the publication of Kaikyo Jijo or Islamic Conditions was begun, devoting a great deal of space to the Idel-Ural independence movement and the Central Asiatic Muslims.

c. Muslim Organizations in Japan and Occupied Territory

i. The "Muslim Pact" of 1909. Perhaps the most important symbolic act of Japanese infiltration among the Muslims in Russian areas was the so-called "Muslim Pact" of 1909. This took the form of

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an oath administered by Abdul Rashid Ibrahim, inscribed partly in Arabic and partly in Japanese, and deposited in a temple in Antung (Manchuria) after the signers had affixed their seals, "to be of one heart and one mind" in the pursuance of their aim to promote Islam and its liberation from Russian chains. The signers, besides Ibrahim, were Mitsuru Toyama, Ryohai Uchida, Ki Inukai, Tsunetaro Nakano, Capt. Katsutoshi Aoyanagi (subsequently the publisher of Dai-to, Great East Magazine, a periodical to "awaken the peoples of Asia to resist European advance" and also the head of a school for training political refugees in Japan in military and subversive tactics), Lieut. Colonel Bukeiji Ohara (officer of the General Staff and secretary of the Toa Dobunkai), Kinosuke Yamada (founder of the Ohuo University Law School and several times Minister of Justice in Kenseito or Constitutional Party cabinets), Hironaka Kono (politician and later, 1914, Minister of Commerce and Agriculture), and Yasuzo Nakayama (of whom nothing is known except that he was, and probably still is, a member of the Black Dragon Society). The first Muslim organizations in Japan were the product of the work of the men who had signed the pact and of those of their Muslim collaborators who were in Japan at the time.

ii. The Tokyo Islamic Order. The Tokyo Islamic Order (Tokyo Kaikyo-Den) was created with Ki Inukai's help by Muhammad

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Abd el-Hai Qurban Ali (Kurbungali) in 1924. Its initial purpose was the renting of a house for religious and educational services and the acquisition of a Muslim burial ground in the city. Inukai helped the organization with funds. In 1929 the Foreign Office, presented it with an Arabic language press and the organization began to publish the Turkish language periodical, Yapon Muehbiri, edited by Qurban Ali, and essentially a propaganda journal purporting to give news of the progress of Islam in Japan. It has been sent free to the Muslim press in Europe and Asia.

iii. The Japan Residents' Muslim League. The Japan Residents' Muslim League (Nippon Teikoku Zairyu Kaikyoto Remmei) which undertook the expansion of Islamic work by "the printing of textbooks and religious books for world-wide Muslim consumption"-- a good method for disseminating Japanese culture -- was organized in 1928 with the help of Toyama, Inukai, Kazuo Furushima, Takejiro Tokonami, and several other Japanese interested in the promotion of anti-Soviet work among the Muslims. The society printed the Koran in Japanese and established a school for Muslim children, besides publishing a large number of pamphlets on Japan's religious tolerance and her possible acceptance of Islam as a state religion. A Tokyo broadcast of 18 June 1943 named Lieut. General Nobutaka Shiota as its president although until 1940, Qurban Ali was always referred to as its official head.

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iv. The I. U. T. T. C. J. The Idel-Ural Turko-Tatar Cultural Association (Idel-Ural Turko Tatar Bunka Kyokai) also referred to by Tatars as the Idel-Ural Turko-Tatar Independence League, came into existence as the result of the arrival in Japan of Iyad Ishaqi. Following a tour sponsored by the Foreign Office, branches were established during 1934 in Kobe, Osaka, and Nagoya in Japan, and in Mukden, Dairen, Harbin, Hailar, and Hsinking in Manchuria. Headquarters of the association were transferred from Tokyo to Hsinking in 1938, the periodical Milli Bayrak was begun in Mukden, and the society took an immediate stand in favor of an independent Tatar state between the Volga and the Mongolian border to be established with Japan's help.

v. The Society of Islamic Culture. The Society of Islamic Culture (Islam Bunka Kyokai) was organized by Teijiro Sakuma in Tokyo in 1935. The 1939 edition of the list of Cultural and Academic Organizations in Japan published by the (Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, Tokyo) describes its activities as: (1) introduction of Japanese culture in Muslim areas; (2) investigation and study of Muslim areas; (3) publications and exhibitions of a suitable nature in Japan and abroad; (4) exchange of students and professors with Islamic countries and reception of Muslim guests in Japan; (5) translation of appropriate literature from and to Japanese; (6) maintenance of a lecture auditorium and study rooms for Muslim students of Japanese



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culture. The chief method of achieving the above aims is through "arranging for those 'properly connected' to come to Japan." The society's present directors are Ryusaku Endo, Akio Kasama, Tanetsugu Sasa, Yo Hakamura, and Chozo Murata (shipping magnate, financier, and now Japanese Ambassador to the Philippines). The Society's organizer, Teijiro Sakuma, was at one time a Black Dragon agent in Russian Central Asia and along the Caspian Sea and subsequently head of the Society of Light in Shanghai.

vi. The Institute of Islamic Studies. The Institute of Islamic Studies (Kaikyo Kenkyu-Sho) was organized in March 1938 but in May of the same year its direction was shifted to the Good Neighbor Association (Zenrin Kyokai, org. 1934), an agency specifically oriented toward work in Mongolia and the training of Mongol students in Japan. The Institute's research has been directed toward the military and political needs of the time and it has cooperated closely with the Good Neighbor School (Zenrin Gakko) run by the Good Neighbor Association at 170 Nishiohoku 4-chome, Yodobashi-ku, Tokyo, for the training of personnel to work in the various areas of continental Asia. The society's directors are Koji Okubo, Hajime Kobayashi, and Hisao Matsuda. Okubo is a noted student of Turkic peoples, and his Russian is only slightly less perfect than his Turkish. He is also active in the Central Asia Research Association (Chuo Ajia Kenkyu Kai) which is a subsidiary of both the Institute

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of Islamic Studies and the Good Neighbor Association. The directors of the latter, as well as of its personnel school, have been Sanetaka Ichijo (Prince and member of the House of Peers), Matasuke Kusuyama (large stockholder of the Kanegafuchu Spinning Company), Saihin Ikeda (Mitsui banker and former Minister of Finance), and General Senjuro Hayashi (d. February 1943).

vii. The Greater Japan Muslim League. The Greater Japan Muslim League (Dai Nippon Kaikyō Kyōkai, renamed in September 1939 the Dai Nippon Kaikyōto Kyōkai), formed in 1938 with General Senjuro Hayashi as president and Shozo Murata and Abdur-Rashid Ibrahim as co-directors, was the authoritative body established to unify and supervise all other Muslim organizations in Japan, Manchuria, and occupied territory. From the beginning its direction has been in military hands, and although shortly after its organization the official title of head was transferred from General Hayashi (who became vice-president) to Abdur-Rashid Ibrahim, resident of Japan since 1933 (d. September 1944), the League has remained the army tool for control of Muslim elements in Japanese-occupied territory. Like the Russian Emigrants' Bureau in Manchuria and occupied China, the Greater Japan Muslim League has ceased to be the weapon of the Foreign Office, which temporarily took a back seat in Japan's foreign relations, and has become the direct tool

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of Japanese military administration in occupied areas.

viii. The Muslim Student League. The Muslim Student League, inaugurated 30 July 1943, and aiming at "the enlightenment of Muslims throughout East Asia for their positive cooperation in the establishment of the co-prosperity sphere" (Tokyo in English, 30 July 1943), according to all evidence so far seems to have been nothing but an agency facilitating careful watch over those Muslim students now in Japan. The compulsory membership is divided into groups, each with a chairman, reporting to a higher committee, which in turn reports to a still higher committee consisting of the Japanese "Muslims." It is still too young an organization to be judged correctly.

### 3. The Content

a. The Influence of Islam in Japan. The propaganda itself, in its basic pattern, has not varied much in the past thirty-seven years. Its main themes have been two: the growing influence of Islam in Japan and the unity of Muslim and Japanese interests.

The first theme has been pursued by subtly creating the impression that Islam holds a high place in Japan and that there exists in Japan a large Muslim community favored by the government, and constantly augmented by arrivals from abroad (primarily due to "Communist persecution") and by conversions at home. Following the 1906 conference the editor of the Egyptian paper al-Irshad wrote



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from Japan that he had already made 12,000 converts including several high government officials. Examination of the Muslim periodical press from 1906 to 1942 discloses a steady if inconspicuous flow of such articles as: "Progress of Islam in Japan," "Muslim Missionaries Arrive in Yokohama," "Kobe Mosque Celebration," "Another Islamic Periodical in Tokyo," "Opening of a Muslim School in Japan," "Japanese Notables, Converted to Islam," and the like. The writers of these articles nowhere betray the fact that there are only about 600 Muslims in Japan, most of whom are Tatars from Russia. Rumors that the Emperor was considering the introduction of Islam into Japan as a state religion have reappeared during each decade of this century. The frequent mention of Cabinet ministers, army officials, or titled nobility as participants in Muslim functions conveys an impression that Islam holds a high place in Japan.

b. The Unity of Muslim and Japanese Interests. The second constant theme has been emphasis on the identity of interests existing between those professing the Muslim religion both south and north of the Russian border, on the one hand, and the Japanese people on the other. Close examination of this theme as utilized by Japanese propagandists reveals five methods of approach: arguments respectively for religious, racial, geographic, political, and cultural unity between Japanese and Muslims.



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i. Religious Unity. Japan makes it clear that as a non-Christian nation, she, like the Muslims, is opposed to the expansion of Christian influence and domination. She supports Pan-Islamic periodicals and calls on the union of all Muslim peoples with Japan to throw off Christian aggression in Asia. The Japanese claim that thirty Turki-language papers carried Japanese propaganda into Russia following the Russo-Japanese War finds an interesting corroboration in the report of Hadrat-Lache agent for the Tsarist Okhrana investigating Muslim disturbances on the Volga, and in the Central Asiatic regions in 1907: "Until 1904 there has been only pan-Islamic talk, but since the war there have appeared pan-Islamic organizations which are given systematic and intelligent guidance in the form of funds, trained organizers, and literature by the little yellow men from the Islands (Japan). The latter either come themselves or, more frequently, use specially trained Turki who gain admission into Russia as mullahs. If Russian consuls knew anything of Islam and bothered to question these mullahs before issuing visas they would find that the latter know surprisingly little about the Koran and a great deal about quite different matters." Recently Japanese propagandists have strengthened the religious angle by clever manipulation of the fact that sixty million Muslims of the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines have been added to the Empire and "are prospering under benevolent guidance of the Japanese army."

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Simultaneous references to the "welfare and prosperity of thousands of refugees from Soviet persecution in Manchuria, who are now leading a peaceful life under full protection of the Japanese army," have found their way into publications of Muslim refugees from the Soviet Union throughout Europe and the East. All this has been designed to create and undoubtedly has created for those without first-hand experience of Japanese rule, the needed impression of Japanese friendliness and respect for Islam.

ii. Racial Unity. Racially the Japanese have utilized both the Pan-Mongol and the Pan-Turan themes. While reminding the Hazara elements in Afghanistan of the Mongol origin of the Japanese they have also claimed Turkic descent when dealing with the Central Asiatic and Tatar Muslims: "The two peoples [i.e., the Turki Muslims and the Japanese] have the same color of hair and eyes and there is evidence that in addition to the common racial origin, both belong to the same linguistic stock." [Saishin Ajiya Taikan, p. 293]. Rather startling to a Western reader are these statements utilized in propaganda not only toward the Turki Muslims but also toward the Finns and the Hungarians. (It should be noted that one of General Akashi's most trusted aides, who stirred revolt behind Russian lines in 1904, was a Finn.) The Japanese-Hungarian Society, established in 1924, has stressed the common racial origin of the two peoples. In 1921 the Pan-Turan Society of Budapest was asked to maintain a permanent

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representative in Japan at Japan's expense. The Society of the White Wolf symbolized the common descent of the Turki and the Mongol peoples from a white she-wolf, while the Turan society of Japan has worked almost entirely in terms of Japan's alliance with the Turki peoples on grounds of common racial origin. The two outstanding exponents of Pan-Turanism among Russian Muslims--Yusuf Akchura and Iyad Ishaqi--have both been invited to Japan.

iii. Geographic Unity. Geographically, Japan has stressed the fact that, like the majority of the Muslims, she also is an Asiatic nation interested in Asia for the Asiatics, and in continental freedom from European domination.

iv. Political Unity. Politically, like the majority of Asiatic Muslims, Japan has opposed both British imperialism and Soviet Communism and from the beginning, has been openly and actively anti-Communist. Thus her position in Asia, vis-à-vis Russia and Britain, coincides with the political aspirations of the Muslims, who, in their long suspicion of both, tend to overlook Japan's own ambitions.

v. Cultural Unity. Culturally, Japan has played up the common trait of respect for the warrior tradition and for the male-dominated or patriarchal family system where "man has his sphere and woman has hers--unlike the West." The last theme was particularly effective among the older generation of Muslims in Russia who bitterly resented Soviet attempts to break down the



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old patriarchal family system and abolish burdah (veiling and seclusion of women). Interestingly enough, some objection to the Muslim practice of polygamy arose within Japanese circles when the promoters of the "Muslim policy" tried to push the official recognition of Islam through the Diet in 1939. The matter was finally solved by the official explanation that "Islam permits polygamy so as to make women better wives. In fear of the husband taking another, a woman is more obedient and considerate of her husband's wishes and thus a more stable family system results."

c. Intelligence.

1. Bases of Operation. Exclusive of Sinkiang (which is discussed extensively in "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China," R & A No. 890.1) there are these main bases for Japanese intelligence activities among the Muslims of the Soviet Union: Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan.

a. Turkey has been important because the traditionally close cultural ties between Turkey and Turki nationals of Russia have made it the haven for the largest number of Muslim refugees from the Soviet Union. Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turanic societies and centers have their headquarters there. Almost every Pan-Turkist among prominent émigré Russian Muslims there is a member of the Bozhart or Grey Wolf Society whose goal is the unification of all Turki Muslims into an autonomous state stretching from Asia Minor to

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Mongolia. Across the Turkish border in Asia Minor are the frequently rebellious Muslim Caucasus tribes and the rich oil wells of Baku. Thus Turkey is an important center for economic as well as political intelligence. Only the cordial relations between the Soviet and the Turkish governments have hindered Japanese activities there. It is possible that Turkish police interference (as for example the arrests of the remnants of Enver Pasha's followers in 1926 and the close police surveillance of the Bozkurt) was a contributing cause of the Japanese invitation to such notoriously anti-Soviet and anti-Russian Muslim Tatars as Akchur and Ishiqi to come to Japan and Manchuria. In spite of Turkish vigilance, recent reports from Kabul trace the anti-Soviet plot of Bokharan emigrés there to the Bozkurt personages in Turkey.

b. Iran's proximity to both the Caucasus and Central Asiatic Soviet territories particularly to the nomadic Turkmen tribes, has made it another propitious base for Japanese intelligence, increasingly so, since the opening of the Japanese Legation there in 1929. Its importance is illustrated by the fact that such experienced Muslim and Russian experts as Kio Masama and Tentaro Joda have held diplomatic posts in Teheran, the latter openly assigned there for "special duty." Masama's activities on behalf of the Japanese Muslim policy have already been noted. A doctor of law, a noted author on Muslim topics, a diplomat of some note with past posts in Turkey, Roumania, Portugal, and Geneva, the very fact of his assignment to

Iran reveals the post's importance. Kasami is called by a Japanese writer an "authority on Islam's role in Asia" [Tokyo Dispatch in Buenos Aires Diario Nan-A, November 26, 1942]. Ueda's background is no less significant. A graduate of St. Petersburg Imperial University, assistant to General Ikashi in St. Petersburg during the latter's negotiations with Ibrahim, and counselor of the Japanese Legation in Moscow through the twenties, his subsequent assignments have alternated between Russia and Iran, with brief periods on the "special staff" of the Foreign Office in Tokyo. The importance of Iran as a Japanese espionage center, however, has declined with the expulsion of the Japanese diplomats on Japan's entrance into the present war.

c. Afghanistan as a base seems to have been of increasing consequence since the fall of the somewhat pro-Soviet Amanullah in 1928. Its significance has been enhanced by two factors: active antagonism to the Soviet Union and its religious and Muslim policies on the one hand (this has been the keynote of Afghan foreign policy since 1929), and the presence of a large element of Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkmen, and even Kirghiz within Afghanistan's own population. These nomads, two-thirds of whom live on Soviet territory and approximately a third in northern Afghanistan, have made the closing of the Afghan-Soviet border virtually impossible. The mountainous nature of the area, the semi-primitive culture, and the deep hostility to all

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restrictions not compatible with the established mode of life-- these make feasible, without too much difficulty, the organization of intelligence utilizing anti-Soviet sentiments of the people. The mixture of nationalities on the Soviet-Fehen-Sinkiang border makes this corner of Afghanistan particularly susceptible to infiltration by alien elements. Afghanistan's present neutrality, which is due to the prevalence there of anti-British and anti-Russian sentiments, makes it particularly important.

2. Types of Agents. Three types of agents may be distinguished within the pattern of Japanese intelligence: the resident, the itinerant, and the native.

a. The resident agent is usually known by the local population to be Japanese, but resides over long periods of time in the country to be surveyed, becomes if possible a citizen, and participates in the life of the community about him. His life is devoid of excitement or adventure and his strength lies in his community status, his respectability, his apparent devotion to the adopted country, and the trust and friendship of the native residents. A good example is the life of Fuzo Hattori.

Hattori was a shopkeeper in a small town in Japan. He became acquainted with Uchida when he was in his teens and was attracted by the ideals of the Genyosha. Quietly he set up a small store in Iman, Siberia, in 1897. He sold small Japanese articles of every nature. In 1899 he opened another shop in Nikolsk-Ussurisk. Uchida's



men, operating from the Vladivostok Judo School, used his stores as headquarters in that vicinity. Messages were left there, information picked up, and photographs developed. When the war with Russia broke out in 1904, Fuzo became guide and interpreter for the army. He knew the locality where he lived near the border exceedingly well and also knew the language. He knew the peculiarities and the personal characteristics of the local officials, the frontier guards, all his neighbors. He was a small man, not very well educated, but patient, reliable, and with a purpose which gave his life a meaning and devotion akin to religion. In October 1905, when the war was over, he went right back to his shop in Iman. The Russians and the Tatars in that small town never knew that he had helped the army during the war. They expressed sympathy for him because he had to close the store and suffer losses. In 1917 "when the Romanoffs fell, his house was the center of help to Captain Kalmykov in Ussuri from the Japanese Army." Arms and gold mysteriously appeared there and were picked up by Kalmykov men, who, supposedly anti-Bolshevik, were also working to undermine the Siberian government of Admiral Kolchak. In 1919 the Japanese army moved into the Ussuri region to "restore order" and the quiet shop and house suddenly became a busy army headquarters. This time, evidently, the inhabitants had become somewhat aware of Hattori's activities. According to his life history in Ton Sankaku, "in September 1921 he made an unwilling final withdrawal from Siberia." Fuzo opened another little shop, this time on the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria, but soon "became ill and retired to a village north of Biwa Lake in Japan, where he died December 10, 1924." Fuzo Hattori was fifty-two when he died. For twenty-seven years he had served the patriotic cause. Few knew what he was doing, and money certainly was not his object. In spirit, Hattori was not far from the missionaries who go abroad to a life of inconvenience and isolation, to spread the gospel in which they believe. Their deep conviction makes such agents doubly dangerous.

1. The itinerant type, on the other hand, lives a life full of danger, excitement, adventure, and hardship. He requires a long and strenuous training previous to undertaking operations. Unlike the resident agent he is compelled to live for many years deprived of all normal family relationships and human friendships. Takehiko Fujishima, for example, spent some years in China studying;



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the language, manners, and customs before joining the Rakuzendo in 1887. He assumed a Chinese name and clothes and grew a pigtail. Even the Russians failed to learn his true nationality on arresting him in Kashgar in 1889. He pursued his work until 1895, at which time he was caught in the guise of a Buddhist monk and beheaded as a spy by the Chinese authorities during the Sino-Japanese war. Jiro Soejima went to Kirghizia in 1924 after many years of study of the Turki tongues and cultures and returned unmolested in 1926. His purpose was "investigating conditions in Central Asia so that some way may be found to unite all Asiatic races, particularly the Muslims, to present a united front against the Europeans-- he was also interested in railroads" (Toa Senkaku, Vol. II, p. 893). Kotai Koizumi, after studying in the Tokyo School of Foreign languages and in the Military Academy, lived for five years with Qurban Ali to acquire not only the right accent but the right mannerisms before leaving for Russia in 1929. Although he adopted the Muslim faith and took a Muslim name before his departure, Toa Senkaku prudently does not disclose the latter since the gentleman in question is presumably still active in the field (he is not included in the Toa Senkaku list of dead heroes).

The disguise adopted is not necessarily that of the country in which the agent works. A considerable number of agents in addition to learning the Turki and Tatar dialects of Russia, first learn to

master the disguise of a neighboring territory whose nationals would arouse no surprise or suspicion. A Japanese propagandist disguised as a Mongolian Muslim in Tadjikistan, for example, carries added conviction, while unlikely to be recognized as non-Mongol by the Tadjiks. This observation is supported by Hadjet-Lache's Okhrana report noting the presence of Manchurian, Chinese, and Mongol organizers among the Ural Muslims, who, he claims, work for the Japanese. It is more likely that they were actually Japanese posing as Chinese or Mongols like the members of the Rakuzendo in the eighties and nineties and some of the later investigators. Zuicho Tachibana, for example, traveled as a Buddhist priest through Mongolia and Siberia before reaching Russian Central Asia in 1910. Taichi Uehara, once arrested in Tashkent but released on personal appeal to the Tsar by General Araki, spoke fluent Russian and Mongol. He used the Chinese name Yuan Shang-chih. Hidenari Nami and Kyodo Kawamura, who studied the possibilities of an autonomous Muslim state in Central Asia and collected intelligence for the purpose, both lived as Chinese in Sinkiang, the former using the Chinese name Ma Ch'eng-lung. A group led by Hajime Sato, the head of the Black Dragon chapter in Tsingtao, which was dispatched to Russian Central Asia in 1917 "to stay there for several years and study conditions" (Nikkan Goho Hishi, Appendix, Tokyo, 1931, p. 6 ), had all lived in China for many years and could easily pass for Chinese in Russia.

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Disguise is not the invariable accompaniment of the Japanese intelligence agent. Yearly pilgrimages to Mecca provide another channel for collecting information, not only from native Turki Muslims annually assembled there, but also from other arriving Japanese "Muslims," either in or out of disguise. Throughout the thirties there were annual pilgrimages to Mecca by a group of young officers, promoters of "more activity among the Muslims" who, pitching their tents alongside Bokharan refugees from Sinkiang and Turkey, managed to make valuable contacts and possibly do some recruiting among the refugees. Taro Yamamoto's Mecca trips, for example, earned him an invitation to Afghanistan as a "student of Islam" in 1933. He remained there until 1941 and possibly continued the work begun in 1925 by Yasunosuke Tanabe, intelligence and subversion agent for Central Asia who set up headquarters in Kabul for his work with the various Turkmen organizations in Central Asia. Nakshe Wakabayashi and Ippei Tanaka (d. 1934) also participated in the Mecca trips, acting both as propagandists and as intelligence agents for Japan in the guise (or perhaps honestly) of devoted Muslims.

c. As native agents, the Japanese have used both the Russian and the non-Russian nationals among the Muslims in Asia. It is not known to what extent they were aware of being used by Japan. The proceedings of the Soviet trials involving Muslim espionage in Central Asia and Mongolia name such Muslim celebrities as Fahrutdinov and Tajimanov, directors of the Central Muslim League of USSR,



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also called the All-Union Muslim League, as knowingly contributing to the anti-Soviet activities of the foreign powers. A large number of minor defendants who acted as couriers, messengers, and informants are also listed. The short sentences, given to the many defendants, ranging from six months to ten years (which is light for Soviet espionage convictions), would seem to imply Soviet recognition of the unconscious part they played in the espionage.

Even so it is not known to what extent such men as Sultan Ali (Russian form: Sultangaliev), chief defendant in the Tashkent trials for treason in 1929, or Mutallieb Satybaldyev, the main personage of the Kokhand trials of 1934, were cognizant of being tools of Japanese intelligence. Quite possibly they were sincere devotees of Muslim autonomy who little dreamed that Japan and Germany were subsidizing their colleagues in Sinkiang, Iran, and Afghanistan in return for information obtained. It must be noted that all known Japanese pronouncements stress Japan's desire to aid independence movements of Asiatic Muslims and nothing else. Thus a great deal of information regarding fortifications, industries, and garrisons in the Soviet Union may have passed into Japanese hands without the knowledge of those young Muslims in Soviet Asia who thought they were merely in touch with their compatriots south of the border. Mustafa Tchokai (Russian form: M. A. Tchokaieff), ardent promoter of Turkestan independence

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from Russia and active member of the Bozkurt Society, makes an interesting claim regarding the partisans of his cause in the Soviet Union: "There are tens of thousands of our students in upper Soviet schools.... It is again these same students from the Soviet schools who head the struggle for liberation of Turkistan from the Bolshevik dictators" (M. A. Tchokaioff "Fifteen Years of Bolshevik Rule in Turkistan," Journal of the Royal Central Asia Society, July 1933, p. 359). Since several of Tchokai's associates (Ibrahim, Iyad Ishaqi, Akchura) have had close connections with the Japanese, it is natural that a great deal of the information collected by such men as Tchokai reached Japanese hands.

#### D. Subversion and Sabotage

By subversion is meant those Japanese tactics that deal neither with open propaganda nor merely with the collection of information but involve the sponsorship of revolutionary and separatist movements, the sabotage of industrial enterprises, and the artificial creation of disturbances.

Japanese encouragement and aid to Muslim independence movements began when Akashi first went to Russia to organize popular uprisings in the Russian rear before the Russo-Japanese War. The period of the revolution, 1917-22, is rich in illustrations of Japanese intrigue in Russian internal disturbances. From Semenov's plans for an autonomous Siberia (non-Muslim) through Baron Ungern von Sternberg's colossal dream of an independent Mongol Empire to Qurban Ali's independent

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Bashkiria and Kirghizia -- there runs a thread of Japanese instigation, less by the Foreign Office than by the army and the patriotic societies. Black Dragon publications recount the biographies of men who helped "Muslim independence" by sending arms, trained advisers, and money. Qurban Ali's trip to Japan with ten Bashkir officers in 1921 was on behalf of just such an independence scheme in Central Asia.

Soviet accusations of planned sabotage and of stirring of discontent among the natives of Central Asia and Buriat-Mongolia undoubtedly are based in fact. Uchida's biography abounds in anecdotes of plans to blow up Russian railways, to impede construction of highways, and to "wake up Russian-held Muslims to independence" ideas." The concentration of many vital Russian industries (oil, iron, steel) in Muslim areas would make it highly advisable, from the viewpoint of obstructing Russian defense preparations, to create disturbances and organize sabotage in these districts. Acts of espionage and subversion by members of the All-Russian Muslim League (organized in 1903) and its heir, the Central Muslim League of USSR, have been admitted both by the Japanese and by a number of arrested persons in connection with the Muslim trials in Tashkent (1929), Kokhand (1935), and Erávna, Buriat-Mongolia (1939). Thus subversion and sabotage have gone hand in hand with propaganda and intelligence to form the pattern of Japanese infiltration among the Soviet Muslims.

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IV. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Despite the scarcity of direct information since Japan's entrance into the present war, several new trends of infiltration operations have become apparent.

Japanese propaganda directed to Muslims has generally increased in volume. There has, however, been a subtle but nonetheless noticeable change in its political as well as its geographic orientation. Politically, Communism has given place to "Anglo-American imperialism" as the main foe of Islam, while the geographic direction of Japanese propaganda has veered to the south. The Muslims of India, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies now take precedence over Soviet Muslims both as objects and as targets of Japanese press and radio propaganda. Descriptions of Soviet persecutions have given place to glowing accounts of the happy life of the Malayan Muslims under Japanese rule, on the one hand, and calls to the Middle and the Near Eastern Muslims to throw off "the yoke of Anglo-American imperialism," on the other. (See, for example, Ibrahim's radio appeal, FCC Daily 27 April 1944). The Hsinking radio still talks in terms of fighting communism but the subtle implication is that the main enemy is the Chinese rather than the Soviet Communists.

Moreover, the war, in which Germany is fighting Russia

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while Japan remains neutral, has brought considerable Japanese collaboration with Germany on Muslim policy and a corresponding delimitation of spheres of overt leadership. As Japan has become increasingly active in southeastern Muslim areas, Germany has taken the lead in work with Soviet Muslims. An understanding is implied by the arrival in Japan of the Indian nationalist leader, Bose, while Iyad Ishaqi, resident in Japan since 1933, has returned to Europe. The speedy rise of numerous Muslim organizations in Berlin during 1943 is reminiscent of similar activities in Tokyo between 1933 and 1939. In January 1943 the Central Muslim Institute, modeled along the lines of the Institute of Islamic Studies in Tokyo, was opened in Berlin. Officiating at the inauguration was the Grand Mufti Amin al-Husaini, of Jerusalem, one-time refugee from British authorities in the Japanese Legation in Iran. In April the Kalmyck National Committee was formed. In June the Tatarische Mittelstelle (Tatar Central League) was founded to unite all Idel-Ural Muslim peoples. During the same month the Azerbaijan National Committee appeared in Berlin, its leaders being Atamalibek and Hilal Hudji. (the "Voice of Germany" to Azerbaijan on Berlin broadcasts), both Bozkurt members and associates of Ibrahim and Iyad Ishaqi in Pan-Islamic work. All these organizations have declared themselves in favor of Muslim autonomy from the Soviet Union and as supporting both Japanese plans for Asia and German plans for Europe.



In Afghanistan, where the Japanese and the Germans have used the same informants, the Japanese have recently switched from anti-Soviet to anti-British activities, while the Germans have taken an active part in the sponsorship of anti-Soviet Bokharan refugees. The plot disclosed in April 1943 to overthrow Soviet rule in Bokhara was the result of this sponsorship of anti-Soviet elements with Bozkurt connections in northern Afghanistan -- elements long known for their Japanese connections.

In spite of these recent trends, it would be a mistake to assume Japanese departure from the field of Muslim intrigue in Soviet areas. Afghan students returning to Kabul from Japan report a considerable number of Tadjik, Kazak, and Turkmen students in Japanese institutions. The Hsinking, Japanese-controlled, radio broadcasts even today Japanese propaganda in several Central Asiatic tongues. Japan's present overt inactivity is undoubtedly only temporary, and there is every reason to believe that she is continuing quietly to build up contacts in the Muslim areas adjoining her territory while abstaining from overt activities only in the interest of preserving Russian neutrality.

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APPENDIX I  
ORGANIZATIONS

The fifty-four organizations listed below by no means exhaust the field. They are merely those concerning which information is available.

Administrative Council of Turko-Tatars in the Far East. See Turko-Tatar Far Eastern Council.

1. Afghanistan Club, Kazan-Kaikan, Kasumigaseki 3-chome Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo; org. 1935 for the "study of conditions in Afghanistan and neighboring countries and for the promotion of Afghan-Japanese friendship" by Yasunosuke Tanabe and Masaji Inoue, former Black Dragon intelligence agents in Afghanistan and Russian Central Asia. The present directors also include Torikichi Obata, Iwane Matsui, and Shigenori Togo. Membership = 120 in 1939.

2. Afghan-Japan Chamber of Commerce, org. in Kabul by the Japanese in the early thirties.

Ajiya Gikai. See Reawakening of Asia Society.

3. Azerbaijan National Committee, org. in Berlin, June 1943, to work for the Azerbaijan independence from Russia.
4. Black Dragon Language School, org. in 1901 by the Black Dragon Society to teach languages spoken in Russia.
5. Black Dragon Society (Kokuryukai), org. by Ryohei Uchida in 1901. Its present head is Yoshihisa Kuzuu.
6. Black Ocean Society (Genyosha), org. by Mitsuru Toyama in Fukuoka in 1879.

Bozkurt. See Grey Wolf Society.

7. Central Asia Research Association (Chuo Ajiya Kenkyu Kai), a subsidiary of the Institute of Islamic Studies and of the Good Neighbor Association.

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8. Central Muslim Institute, org. in Berlin, January 1943, to coordinate German activities among the Muslims.

Chuo. Ajiya Kenkyu Kai. See Central Asia Research Association.

Dai-A-Gikai. See Reawakening of Greater Asia Society.

Dai-Ajiya Kyokai. See Great Asia Association.

Dai Nippon Kaikyo Kyokai. See Greater Japan Muslim League.

Dai Nippon Kaikyoto Kyokai, same as above. See Greater Japan Muslim League.

Dobunkai. See One-Culture Society.

9. East Asia One-Culture School (Toa Dobun Shoin or Tung Wen College), org. in Shanghai in 1900 for the purpose of training infiltration agents into Asiatic countries, and presently located in Chiaotung University, on Ave. Haig.
10. East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai), org. by Ki Inukai in 1898 together with the East Asia One-Culture School to work for the unification of all Asiatic peoples.
11. East Asia Society (Toa-kai) merged with the One-Culture Society (Dobunkai) to form the East Asia One-Culture Society in 1898.  
See p. 10.
12. East Asia Students' Society, org. in Tokyo, 10 July 1942, with General Senjuro Hayashi as president, and predecessor of the Muslim Students' League.
13. Foreign Office, Japanese.  
Genyosha. See Black Ocean Society.
14. Good Neighbor Association (Zenrin Kyokai), org. in 1934 by General Senjuro Hayashi, then war minister, for the purpose of "promoting amity among the neighboring races," especially the Mongols and the Central Asiatics.
15. Good Neighbor School (Zenrin Shoin) at 170, Nishiokubo 4-chome Yodobashi-ku, Tokyo, in existence since 1895 to train infiltration agents into Russia, China, Korea, Mongolia, Manchuria and Russian Central Asia.



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16. Great Asia Association (Dai-Ajia Kyokai), org. in 1934 in Tokyo by General Iwane Matsui, Jinichi Yano, and Kengo Murakawa to collect information on all the Asiatic countries primarily by utilizing the Japanese residents already in those countries. The society runs a school for training these persons when they are in Japan for visits arranged by the Association.
17. Greater Japan Muslim League (Dai Nippon Kaikyo Kyokai or Dai Nippon Kaikyoto Kyokai), org. in Tokyo in 1938 by General Senjuro Hayashi, Shozo Murata, and Abdur Rashid Ibrahim to coordinate the activities of all the Muslim organizations in Japan and Manchuria.
18. Grey Wolf Society (Bozkurt), a Pan-Turanic group with headquarters in Ankara, consisting of Muslim refugees from the Soviet Union and a few native Turks who are working for the creation of a pan-Turkic state to stretch from Asia Minor through Russian and Chinese Turkestan.  
Hakuro Kai. See Society of the White Wolf.
19. Hall of Pleasurable Delights (Rakuzendo), org. by Keiichi Arao in Hankow in 1887, to screen the activities of a group of infiltration agents into Sinkiang and Russian Central Asia.  
  
Idel-Ural Bunka Kyokai. See Idel Ural Cultured Association.
20. Idel-Ural Cultural Association, org. by Iyad Ishagi in Tokyo, 1934, to unite the Tatars in the Far East for purposes of working toward an independent Turko-Tatar State in Central Asia with Japanese help. Its present headquarters are in Mukden.  
  
Idel-Ural Independence League, same as Idel-Ural Cultural Association.  
  
Idel-Ural Turko-Tatar Cultural Association (I.U.T.T.C.A.), same as Idel-Ural Cultural Association.
21. Imperial Religious Federation, established in May 1942 in Tokyo for the purpose of uniting, supervising, and coordinating the activities of all the religious faiths in Japan, Manchuria, China, Mongolia, Indochina, Thailand, Burma, India, Ceylon, Malaya, and the East Indies.



22. Institute of Islamic Studies (Kaikyo Kenkyu-sho), org. March 1938 under the auspices of the Foreign Office and the Army to collaborate with the Good Neighbor Association in research, intelligence, and the training of Muslim students and Japanese students of Islam for work in Muslim areas.
- Islam Bunka Kyokai. See Society of Islamic Culture.
23. Islamic Cultural Institute in Dairen, founded by the Japanese and in 1942 headed by Chang Te-ch'un with an enrollment of 80 students and up to March 1942, 100 graduates working under Japanese sponsorship in various Muslim territories of continental Asia.
24. Japan Residents' Muslim League (Nippon Teikoku Zairyu Kaikyoto Remmei), org. in 1928 in Tokyo by Inukai, Toyama, and Qurban Ali to disseminate Japanese propaganda among the Muslims.
25. Japan Turkish Society (Nichi-Do Kyokai) at 6, Marunouchi 3-chome, Kojima-cho, Tokyo, org. in 1926, by Masaji Inoue, industrialist, Black Dragon member, later organizer of the Afghanistan Club, and formerly Black Dragon intelligence agent for Russian Central Asia. It was formed following the arrest and execution in Turkey of the remnants of Enver Pasha's group and is active in promoting contact with Muslim refugees from Turkey and Russia who are interested in establishing an independent Turki state in Central Asia.
26. Japanese Army Intelligence (G-2) or the Second Department of the General Staff, one of the foremost agents of infiltration among the Muslim since the latter part of the last century.
- Japanese-Hungarian Society, See Nippon-Hungary Society of Tokyo.
27. Japanese Military Mission in Manchuria, the real power behind the government of Manchukuo and the organizer and supervisor of the White Russian Emigrants' Bureau.  
Kaikyo-Kenkyu-sho. See Institute of Islamic Studies.
28. Kalmyk National Committee, org. in Berlin, April 1943, to work for "Kalmyk liberation from Bolshevism."
29. Keio University Foreign Language School in Tokyo, founded September 1942, the first school to organize courses for women in the languages of Muslim peoples of Russia and the Near and Middle East, thus implying the future utilization of women as espionage agents in those countries.

Kokuryukai. See Black Dragon Society.

Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai. See Society for International Cultural Relations.

Kokushi-kan Semmon Gakko. See Nationalists' Training Academy.

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30. Magyar Nippon Society (Magyar Nippon Tarsasag) of Budapest, org. by the Japanese in Hungary to collaborate with the Nippon-Hungary Society of Tokyo, the Turan Society of Japan, and the Pan-Turan Society of Budapest to bring about the realization of the racial identity of the Turki peoples with Japan and establish Japan as a friend of the Turki peoples of Europe and Asia.

Magyar Nippon Tarsasag. See Magyar Nippon Society of Budapest.

31. Manchurian Islam Association (Manchu Isuran Kyokai), org. by Kyodo Kawamura. (Black Dragon agent), in Hsinking in July 1932 and at present having 166 branches.

Manchu Isuran Kyokai. See Manchurian Islam Association.

32. Ministry of Propaganda, German, sponsor of Iyad Ishaqi's Muslim paper Yani Milli Yul in Berlin, published simultaneously with his Milli Bayrak in Mukden.
33. Muslim Student League, org. in Japan in July 1943.
34. Muslim Youth Corps, org. by Shinzo Takagaki in 1938 in Peking to train Chinese Muslim youths for special work for the Army.
35. Nationalists' Training School (Kokushi-kan Semmon Gakko) in Tokyo, Black Dragon Society School for training agents, org. by Toyama and now headed by Giichi Fukushima.

Nichi-Do Kyokai. See Japan Turkish Society.

36. Nippon-Hungary Society of Tokyo (Tokyo Nippon Hangerii Kyokai or La Societe Hongro-Japonaise a Tokyo), org. in 1934 to promote Japanese relationships with the Pan-Turan Society and the Magyar Nippon Society in Budapest for the promotion of feelings of racial kinship between Japan and the Turki peoples of Europe and Asia.

Nippon Teikoku Zairyu Kaikyoto Renmei. See Japan Residents' Muslim League.

37. Nippon Trading Association, a screen organization for Japanese espionage throughout India, Burma, Africa, and Latin America, but has recently been active in northern Afghanistan. Its couriers have been traveling in the guise of Muslim mullahs and Buddhist priests.



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38. Northwestern Muslim Institute, org. by the Japanese in Peiping and now headed by Ma Hang-p'ao.
  39. One-Culture Society (Dobunkai), merged with East Asia Society (Toa-kai) to form East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai).
  40. Oriental Society (Toyo Kyokai), Osaka Bldg., Uchisaiwai-cho, 2-chome, Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo, org. in 1898 to conduct investigations and train able men for private and public enterprise in various parts of Asia. It runs six training schools, including the Colonial University. Its present directors are Kentaro Mizuno, Hidejiro Nagata, and Atsushi Akaike. Its field has been primarily economic and industrial intelligence.
- Pan-Turan Society of Budapest. See Turan Society of Budapest.
- Rakuzendo. See Hall of Pleasurable Delights.
41. Reawakening of Asia Society (Ajiya Gikai), org. in 1909 by Tsunetaro Nakano.
  42. Reawakening of Greater Asia Society (Dai-A-Gikai), the reorganized Reawakening of Asia Society.
- Russian Emigrants' Committee. See White Russian Emigrants' Bureau.
43. School for Eastern Study (Toyo Gakkan), org. in 1884 in Shanghai by Kotaro Hiraoka to train agents for the Black Ocean Society (Genyosha). Recently reported located on Kunshan Road.
  44. Society for International Cultural Relations (Kokusai Bunka Shin-kokai), org. in 1934 as semi-official agency of the Foreign Office.
  45. Society of Islamic Culture (Islam Bunka Kyokai), org. by Teijiro Sakuma in Tokyo, 1935.
  46. Society of Light, org. in Shanghai by Teijiro Sakuma in 1922, to spread Japanese propaganda to the Muslims of the Near and the Middle East in the guise of a Chinese Islamic periodical.
  47. Society of the White Wolf (Hakurokai), a terrorist group with Pan-Asiatic aims, org. by Lieut. Zei Nishida in Japan in 1924.

48. Suiyuan Muslim Youth Corps, an organization which is not attached to any other Muslim organization in China but directly under the Japanese army where Chinese Muslim youths are trained for espionage in Muslim areas for Japan.
49. Tatarische Mittelstelle (Tatar Central League), org. in Berlin, June 1943, to unite all the Idel-Ural (i.e., Volga-Ural) Tatar groups desiring Tatar independence from Russia.  
Toa Dobun Shoin (Tung Wen College). See East Asia One-Culture School  
Toa Dobunkai. See East Asia One-Culture Society.  
Toa-kai. See East Asia Society.
50. Tokyo Islamic Order (Tokyo Kaikyo-dan), founded in 1924 by Muhammad Abdel-hai Qurban Ali.  
Tokyo Kaikyo-dan. See Tokyo Islamic Order.  
Tokyo Nippon Hangarii Kyokai. See Nippon-Hungary Society of Tokyo.  
Toyo Gakkan. See School for Eastern Study.  
Toyo Kyokai. See Oriental Society.  
Tung Wen College (Toa Dobun Shoin). See East Asia One-Culture School.
51. Turan Society of Budapest (Turani Tarsasag of Budapest), org. in 1916 to promote the political union of the Turki peoples.
52. Turan Society of Japan, org. in 1933 as Japanese branch of the Turan Society of Budapest, primarily for the purpose of promoting Japanese intrigue among the Muslim Turki refugees from Russia.
53. Turko-Tatar Far Eastern Council, org. in 1934 in Manchuria under sponsrshp of Japanese Military Mission.
54. White Russian Emigrants' Bureau, first organized in Harbin following Japanese occupation and thence spread to all parts of Japanese - occupied China where Russian refugees live for the purpose of unifying and supervising the Russian refugees in the Far East.  
White Wolf Society. See Society of the White Wolf.  
Zenrin Kyokai. See Good Neighbor Association.  
Zenrin Shoin. See Good Neighbor School.



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APPENDIX IIWHO'S WHO

This Who's Who includes the names of all persons mentioned in the text as well as those of others who have been in some way connected with Japanese Muslim policy. The list and the annotations are not exhaustive, and some names about which little is known have been included to facilitate further inquiry. The permutations of Asiatic names are infinite. All variations and aliases encountered in this study have been cross-indexed but others undoubtedly are in use.

A. JAPANESE NATIONALS

Abdur Muliyanu. See Hosokawa, Susumu.

1. Akashi, Motojiro: Baron and General, b. 1865-d.1919; enlisted the aid of the Muslim and the Social Revolutionary groups in Russia to undermine the Russian rear and supply intelligence to the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese war; His most important Muslim contact, Abdur Rashid Ibrahim, was head of the Japanese Muslim Association until his death in September.
2. Akikusa: Colonel and now possibly Major-General; suspected to be head of Russian Section of Japanese Military Intelligence; about 40 years old; speaks flawless Russian; organizer of the "Bureau of Affairs of Russian Immigrants" in occupied China and Manchuria.
3. Ando: Japanese "student," graduate of the Muslim University of el-Ashar in Cairo; returned to Yokohama in 1942.
4. Ando, Rinzo: Lieut. General, b.1886; Chief of Special Service of the Kwantung Army in Harbin 1933-36 and a close friend of Col. Akikusa (see above); transferred to Tokyo to command the Tokyo Bay Fortified Area in 1937, reputedly because one of his Russian agents, Levintseff, turned out to be agent for the Far Eastern Red Army planted in his Special Service.

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5. Aoyanagi, Katsutoshi: b. 1879-d. 1934; cavalry officer and member of the Black Dragon Society; active in espionage and subversive activities all along the Russian border from Sinkiang through Mongolia to Manchuria; signer of the Muslim Oath of 1909 with Toyama, Ibrahim, and others.
6. Araki, Sadao (baptized in Russian Orthodox Church as Savva Danilovich Araki): Baron and General, b. 1877; member of the Supreme War Council and holder of several cabinet posts previous to 1936; at present retired but an important influence behind former Premier Tojo; like Akashi (see above) close to Toyama and patriotic society circles and an active proponent of both the Muslim and the Russian Orthodox policies. Akashi's successor as military attaché in Russia when Russo-Japanese relations were resumed after the Treaty of Portsmouth and organizer of the Japanese espionage there utilizing dissident Muslim and revolutionary elements.
7. Arao, Kiyoshi: organizer of the group of espionage agents into Russian Central Asia functioning as the Rakuzendo or the Hall of Pleasurable Delights.
8. Ariga, Bunhachiro: one of the first converts to Islam in 1896 in Kobe for the purpose of "serving Japan with his religion." See A. Kasama's "The Muslims," Iwanami Bunko Series, 1939.
9. Ashida, Hitoshi: b. 1887; prolific writer of Japanese propaganda literature for the Muslims; in the Japanese Constantinople Embassy in 1925; editor and president of Japan Times and Mail, Tokyo, since 1933; member of the Diet.
10. Atakana: one of the young officers who, ostensibly as converts to Islam, have been making annual pilgrimages to Mecca; in Mecca in 1935. See Oriente Moderno, 1935.
11. Cheng, Ch'ao-tsung. See Fukuda, Kikuo.
12. Endo, Ryusaku: b. 1886; member of the House of Peers since 1936; previously held posts in Korea and Manchuria; one of the directors of the Society of Islamic Culture in Tokyo; active in entertaining Muslim dignitaries and visitors in Japan.
12. Enomoto, Momotaro: one of the Japanese officers, who, to serve their country, accepted Islam and have made pilgrimages to Mecca; in Mecca December 1936 - April 1937; since then reported to be head of the Japanese intelligence in the Balkans-Levant Region.



13. Fujishima, Takehiko: one of the earliest organizers of Japanese infiltration into the Muslim areas of Russian Central Asia and member of Kiyoshi Arao's Rakuzendo; caught while traveling in the guise of a Buddhist priest and beheaded by the Chinese in 1895.
14. Fukamachi, Masao; Hajime Kobayashi's associate in a Latin American intrigue in 1941.
15. Fukii, Fuminaga; Hajime Kobayashi's companion in Latin America in 1941.
16. Fukuda, Kikuo (Chinese pseudonym: Cheng, Ch'ao-tsung); Black Dragon agent in Honan, China, since 1905; present whereabouts unknown.
17. Fukushima, Giichi: head of the Nationalists' Training School (Kokushi-kan Semmon Gakko) in Tokyo run by the Black Dragon Society.
18. Fukushima, Yasumasa: Colonel and later General, b. 1852-d.1919; earliest army investigator of the Muslim areas of Russia which he studied, making contacts and maps, while traveling alone on horseback 1883-97.
19. Furushima, Kazuo: one of the organizers of the Japan Residents' Muslim League (Nippon Teikoku Zairyu Kaikyoto Renmei) in 1928.  
Haji Noor Muhammad. See Tanaka, Ippei (Yasuhira).
20. Hakoda, Rokusuke: organizer, with Toyama, and first president of the Black Ocean Society,
21. Hashiguchi, Komur: chief training officer of the Muslim Youth Corps in Peking, organized 1938, which trains Muslim youths for special work for the army (Hui-chia, 1938, 1.3, p. 51).  
Hassan Murshid Effendi. See Hatano, Hassan,
22. Hatano, Mrs. Fatima; daughter of Baron Hiki who with her husband became a convert to Islam, 2 December 1911.
23. Hatano, Hassan Murshid effendi: one of the earliest Japanese propagandists to send articles to the Muslim press in Russia and India; ostensibly a convert to Islam; a member of the Black Dragon Society.

24. Hattori, Fuzo: used to illustrate the life history of a Japanese spy.
25. Hayashi, Senjuro: General, b.1876-d.1943; at various times war minister and prime minister; ardent promoter of the Japanese Muslim Policy and president, before his death, of the Greater Japan Muslim League and the Good Neighbor Association.
26. Hiki, Baron: converted to Islam with daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Hatano, 2 December 1911, with much fanfare to advertise the spread of Islam among the upper classes in Japan; announcements and pictures of conversion sent to Islamic press throughout the world.
27. Hino, Tsuyomi: Major, d. 1920 in Tsingtao; espionage agent in China, India, and Russian Central Asia where he accompanied T. Uehara in 1906-07.
28. Hiraoka, Kotaro: second president of the Black Ocean Society and uncle of Kyohei Uchida; organizer of the Black Dragon Society.
29. Hirayama, Chikashi: one of the initial organizers of both the East Asia One-Culture Society and the Black Dragon Society.
30. Hosokawa, Susumu (Muslim pseudonym: Abdur Muliyanu): one of the Japanese officers and ostensible converts to Islam who made trips to Mecca throughout the thirties and made contacts with Bokharans and natives of Sinkiang.
31. Ichijo, Sdnetaka: director of the Good Neighbor Association (Zenrin Kyokai); member of the House of Peers.
32. Ichinomiya, Fusajiro: director of the East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai), head of its espionage school (Toa Dobun Shoin) in Shanghai.
33. Ikeda, Seihin: financier, head of the Bank of Japan and one of the four directors of the Good Neighbor Association which supports work in Mongolia and Central Asia.
34. Imaoka, Juichiro: writer of propaganda to the Muslims.
35. Inouye, Masaji: b.1876; Managing Director of the South Sea Association, the Japan-Turkish Society, and the Afghanistan Club; Black Dragon member and powerful backer of espionage and infiltration into Russian Central Asia, particularly the cotton area; owner of cotton plantations in Peru and spinning mills in Japan; studied in Berlin and Vienna and was Black Dragon agent on the Russian Afghan frontier in his youth; powerful influence in financial and patriotic society circles; ardent believer in Japanese imperialism.



36. Inukai, Ki or Tsuyoki: Diet member, party leader, Premier 1931-32, and an influential secret society man; organizer of Toa Dobunkai; active in the Muslim field until his assassination in 1932.
37. Ishiyama, special correspondent to Afghanistan, April 1941.
38. Isogai, Rensuke: Lieut. General, b. 1883; since December 1942, Governor General of Hong Kong; strong supporter of Japanese Muslim Policy.
39. Itagaki, Seishiro: General, b. 1885; War Minister May 1938-September 1939; one of the original founders of the Black Dragon Society.
40. Iwasaki, Shintaro: attaché to Japanese Legation in Kabul since 10 July, 1939, the only Japanese diplomat to have been there as long; active in intrigue with anti-British and (previous to 1941) anti-Soviet elements.
41. Kaji, Choichi: one of the original organizers of both the Toa Dobunkai and the Black Dragon Society.
42. Kamei, Yoshitsugu, commercial attaché, Japanese Embassy in Ankara (as of July 1942).
43. Kameyama, Rokuzo: attaché to the Japanese Legation in Kabul, as of January 1943.
44. Kasama, Akio: b. 1887; outstanding Japanese propagandist and intriguer in the field of Islam; held diplomatic posts in Turkey and Iran; at present army administrator of an unspecified occupied area; knows Turkish and Arabic.
45. Katsube, T., Charge d'affaires of Japanese Legation in Kabul until the arrival of the new Japanese minister Shichida in October 1942; tried to orient Japanese propaganda to Muslim themes and away from the Hindu tinge; wife (British) and two children with him in Kabul.
46. Kawahara, Kaku: Second Secretary, Japanese Legation, Kabul, since 1939.
47. Kawamura, Kyodo: Black Dragon agent in China, Manchuria, and Central Asia since 1909; organizer of the Manchuria Islamic Association in Hsinking, 1932.
48. Kawara, Tsunejiro: member of Kiyoshi Arai's Rakuzendo in Hankow who was investigating Russian railway building in Central Asia.

49. Kawarada, Yoshi: according to Yang Chin-chih, Chinese Muslim authority, in an article in Ta Kung Pao, Chungking, 9 March 1942, Kawarada was also one of the signers of the Muslim Oath in 1909; Toa Senkaku does not name him; evidently a Black Dragon agent specializing on Muslims who is still alive and operating since not included in Toa Senkaku Shishi Kiden, 1936 ed.
50. Kinoshita, Takeo: First Secretary, Japanese Embassy in Ankara, as of July 1942.
51. Kitamikado, Matsusaburo: one of the members of Kiyoshi Arai's Rakuzendo conducting espionage in Russian Central Asia and Sinkiang.
52. Kobayashi, Genji: Japanese engineer in Kabul; worked on Boghra Canal; still in Afghanistan in August 1943.
53. Kobayashi, Hajime: outstanding Japanese propagandist, professor, and editor of Kaikyo-ken (Islamic World) in Tokyo.
54. Kobayashi, Kikuo: Japanese minister to Kabul in 1942; died in the fall of 1942.
55. Kobayashi, Motomo: contributor of articles on Muslim questions to Rekishi-Gaku Kenkyu (Historical Research).
56. Koide, Sadao: assistant to Shinzo Takagaki, Black Dragon agent and army organizer of the Chinese Muslim Corps in Peking, 1938.
57. Koide, Takeo: executive secretary of the Japan-Turkish Society (Nichi-Do Kyokai) as of 1939.
58. Koizumi, Kotai: Black Dragon agent specializing in Russian Muslims; after several years' residence with Qurban Aki in Tokyo, ostensibly became a convert to Islam, went to Mecca, and thence to Russian Central Asia; last sent word to Black Dragon Society on reaching Lanchow; subsequent activity not mentioned by Toa Senkaku.
59. Komai, Kinjiro: reputed to be one of Toyama's chief undercover men; sent to Peking to combat Soviet diplomat Jaffe in 1922.
60. Kono, Hironaka, b. 1849-d.1923; one of the signers of the Muslim Oath of 1909.

61. Konoe, Fumitaka: son of Prince Ayamaro Konoe and one of the directors of the East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai) and its espionage school in Shanghai; formerly student at Princeton University.
62. Kori, Sozo (alias Muhammad Abduralis): one of the officers who, ostensibly as converts to Islam, made pilgrimages to Mecca in 1935, 1936, and 1937.
63. Kurihara, Sho: b. 1890; Ambassador to Turkey as of July 1942.
64. Kurosawa, Jiro: first secretary of the Japanese Legation in Roumania and before then in Turkey (1934).
65. Kusuyama, Matasuke: Lieut. General, d. 22 June 1944; director of the Zenrin Kyokai and Zenrin Shoin (Good Neighbor Association and its espionage school).
66. Kuzuu, Yoshihisa: present head of Black Dragon Society who succeeded Ryohei Uchida in 1935; professional patriotic society man.
- Ma Ch'eng-lung. See Nami, Hidenari.
67. Ma Hang-p'ao: either Chinese or Japanese; head of Japanese Northwest Muslim Institute in China.
68. Machida, Joji: Research Department of the Foreign Office; previously attached to Japanese Embassy in Ankara.
69. Makita, Takeshi: General Secretary of East Asia One-Culture Society and one of the directors of its espionage school in Shanghai.
70. Masuko, Isamu (Takeshi): one of the officers who became converted to the idea of using Islam to achieve the Pan-Asiatic union; entered el-Azhar University in Cairo to study but died in 1932 in Teheran after some disturbance.
71. Matsubara, Akio: Capt., Japanese naval attaché in Ankara, as of July 1942.
72. Matsubara, Shobu: Japanese engineer in Kabul as of July 1943.
73. Matsuda, Hisao: one of the officials of the Institute of Islamic Studies and writer on Muslim questions.



74. Matsui, Iwane, General: noted in recent history primarily for having led the rape of Nanking in 1937; director of Afghanistan Club and organizer of the Great Asia Association (Dai-Ajiya Kyokai); active proponent of the Japanese Muslim Policy.
75. Matsuoka, Yosuke: b. 1880; director of South Manchuria Railway 1936-39; like Yamamoto and Hayashi, former directors of the railway, very active in promoting Muslim cause; gave money for the building of mosques in Mukden and Dairen; one-time Foreign Minister; negotiator Russo-Japanese neutrality pact; educated in U S.
76. Mitani, Toru: adviser to North China Branch of China Union Mohammedan Association.
77. Miyagi, Ryoza: writer on Muslim questions; frequently translates from the Russian.
78. Miyazaki, Torazo: one of original organizers of the East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai); friend and associate of Sun Yat-sen.
79. Moriya, Wara: minister to Afghanistan from February 1938-April 1942, preceding Kikuo Kobayashi and succeeding Masamoto Kitada.
- Muhammad Abdur Muliayamu (alias . Abdur Muliayamu). See Hosokawa, Susumu.
- Muhammad Abduralis. See Kori, Sozo.
80. Munakata, Kotaro: member of Kiyoshi Arai's Rakuzendo in Hankow.
81. Murata, Shozo: b. 1872; big industrialist with shipping and cotton interests; ardent sponsor of Japanese espionage and penetration into the cotton areas of Soviet Central Asia; general secretary of the Society of Islamic Culture and vice-president of the Greater Japan Muslim League; since December 1942 supreme advisor to Japanese Military Administration in the Philippines.
82. Nabeshima, Naokazu: Viscount; president of the Nippon-Hungary Society of Tokyo as of 1939.
83. Naito, Chishu: outstanding Japanese authority on Russia, Turkey, Central Asia, and the Muslim questions; knows Turkish and Russian; Director of Institute of Islamic Studies; toured Muslim countries on good will tours arranged by the Foreign Office.

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84. Nakamura, Yo: Officer of the Society of Islamic Culture and simultaneously Chief of the Investigation Department of the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company; like Shozo Murata, interested in espionage in cotton areas of Soviet Central Asia.
85. Nakano, Jiro: d. 1921; member of Kiyoshi Arai's Rakuzendo, of Ryohei Uchida's Jujitsu School in Vladivostok; organizer of a school to train spies for Russian territory in Sapporo, Japan.
86. Nakano, Tsunetaro: organizer of the Reawakening of Greater Asia Society (Dai-A-Gikai); one of the signers of the Muslim Oath of 1909.
87. Nakao, Hideo: in July 1942 was listed as secretary to Sho Kurihara, Japanese Ambassador to Turkey; great authority on Islam; knows Turkish well; member of many Japanese delegations to the Near East and close companion of the group of officers who, ostensibly as converts to Islam, made annual trips to Mecca. See Wakabayashi, Mohammedan World and Japan, Tokyo, 1938.
88. Nakayama, Shoichi: Japanese minister to Iran after 1936; previously served in Russia; preceded Akio Kasama in Teheran in organization of espionage in Soviet Muslim areas.
89. Nakayama, Yasuzo: Black Dragon member and one of the signers of the Muslim Oath of 1909.
90. Nami, Hidenari (alias Ma Ch'eng-lung): Black Dragon agent in China, Sinkiang, and Russian Central Asia; speaks excellent Chinese and usually poses as Chinese on his travels; wears Chinese clothes.
91. Nishida, Zei: organizer of the Society of the White Wolf (Hakurokai) in 1924 and later of several other Pan-Asiatic terrorist groups.
92. Nabara, Shiro: Japanese historian and frequent contributor to the magazine Kaikyo-dan (Muslim or Islamic Fraternity) of articles on Sinkiang and Soviet Muslims.
93. Obata, Terikichi: director of Afghanistan Club in Tokyo; in Turkey in the twenties; Ambassador in 1923.
94. Ogasawara, Chosei: referred to by Japanese Advertiser, 13 May 1938, as representative of Japanese Muslims at the Tokyo Mosque dedication.



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95. Ohara, Abu bekr (alias Juje Chara, Abu Bekr Akhond Jan In en, and Jan Ju-en): Japanese convert to Islam. See La Temps (Cairo), 17 April 1935.
96. Ohara, Bukeiji: b. 1865-d. 1933 in Tsingtao; one of the signers of the Muslim Oath of 1909 and head of the East Asia One-Culture Society work in Shanghai where the espionage school (Toa Dobun Shoin) was run.
97. Okabe, Nagakage: Viscount; chairman of the Board of Directors of East Asia One-Culture Society; Cabinet member, 1943.
98. Okubo, Koji: head of Institute of Islamic Culture; exchange professor and lecturer in Turkey in 1936; professor of Islamic Studies in Waseda University; knows Turkish well; noted for his propagandistic writings to the Muslims on behalf of Japan.
99. Oya, Hanichiro: d. 1897; one of the earlier members of the Rakuzendo and pioneer in Muslim infiltration into Russian Central Asia.
100. Saito, Sekihei: in Kabul with wife and child as attaché to Japanese Legation in 1937.
101. Sakai, Takashi: Lieut. General, b. 1887; reported to be the originator of the Japanese plan for the creation of an autonomous Muslim state in Central Asia to be made up of Sinkiang and Soviet Central Asia; made director of Inner Mongolia Liaison Agency of the China Affairs Board in 1938.
102. Sakamoto, Miss Harue: arrived in Afghanistan with the four Japanese engineers and has been with them in Kandahar; still there in January 1943.
103. Sakamoto, Kenichi: translated Koran into Japanese from Rodwell's English version; his Japanese translation used for the Chinese translation in 1927.
104. Sakuma, Teijiro (alias Tso Tung-shan): notorious Japanese Muslim worker; used Chinese pseudonym when in China or working there as a base for activities directed elsewhere; has lived with the Kazaks and the Tatars in Central Asia and speaks their languages; has worked in practically every Muslim country of continental Asia.
105. Sama, Ahmed: ostensibly a Japanese convert to Islam who lives with the Muslim students in Japan and is active in Muslim propaganda.



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106. San, Muhammad Ali: Japanese Muslim "convert" in Kobe; active around the Kobe mosque and in accompanying Muslim students and visitors in Japan..
107. Sasa, Tanetsugu: one of the present directors of the Society of Islamic Culture in Tokyo.
108. Sato, Hajime: Black Dragon agent who went to Russian Central Asia in 1917 as "resident" agent for several years; present whereabouts unknown.
109. Serawa, Hisashi: contributor of propagandistic articles to Dai Asia (Great Asia).
110. Seshita, Kiyoshi: Japanese Advertiser, 13 May 1938, lists him as one of the patrons of Islam active in the Tokyo Mosque dedication.
- Shaliyisin, Muhammad. See Suzuki Tsuyomi.
111. Shibuya, Tatsuo: Japanese engineer in Kabul, July 1943.
112. Shichida, Motoharu: Japanese minister in Kabul since 21 October 1942; traveled to Kabul via Russia with two secretaries; previously held posts in Harbin and Vladivostok.
113. Shimagawa, Kisaburo: d. 1907; one of the earliest Japanese agents in Russia and Mongolia; usually traveled as a newspaperman.
114. Shimobayashi, Atsuyuki: Japanese writer of propaganda literature to the Muslims.
115. Shindo, Kiheitai: one of the original organizers of the Black Ocean Society with Toyama.
116. Shindo, Shintaro: b. 1883; close associate of Toyama in recent years and a powerful influence behind Japanese aggression; especially if directed at Russia; president of the Russo-Japanese Fisheries Co., Kyokuhō Petroleum Co., and Hokkaido Rubber Co., as well as of a number of other concerns; big industrialist; gave dinner for Toyama in 1935 to celebrate the latter's fiftieth anniversary of association with Sugiyama.
117. Shioten, Nobutaka: Lieut. General; president of the Japan Residents' Muslim League and successor to General Hayashi as foremost exponent of the Japanese Muslim policy among higher army hierarchy.

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118. Soejima, Jiro: Black Dragon agent who "investigated" Soviet Kirghizia in 1925; present whereabouts unknown.
119. Suda, Masatsugu: author of numerous articles on the Muslim question in Dai Asia Magazine.
120. Sugiyama, Shigemaru: financial backer of the Black Ocean Society since its organization and a close associate of Toyama.
- Sung, Ssu-chai. See Ura Keiichi.
121. Suzuki, Tsuyomi (alias Muhammad Shaliyisin): one of the officers who, ostensibly as converts to Islam, made trips to Mecca; trips financed by the Kwantung Army, the South Manchurian Railway, and Mitsubishi Shoji Kaisha; contacted Muslims from Bokhara and Sinkiang; now attached to the Greater Japan Muslim League.
122. Tachibana, Zuicho: intelligence agent in Sinkiang, Afghanistan, Northern India and Western Siberia 1908-12; only eighteen when he started; guise that of a Buddhist priest; present whereabouts unknown but was trained for work in Central Asia.
123. Tada, Hiroshi: Japanese engineer in Kabul as of July 1943; has been working on the Boghra Canal with Tatsuo Shibuya.
124. Takagaki, Shinzo or Abdullah: at one time advisor to the Afghan Government and a Black Dragon agent around the Russian frontiers in Asia; at present trains Chinese Muslim youths as espionage agents for the Japanese army in Peking.
125. Takahashi, Ken: member of Rakuzendo; traveled in Central Asia as medicine salesman.
126. Taketomi, Toshihiko: b. 1884; preceded Sho Kurihara as Ambassador to Turkey; appointed August 1937.
127. Tanabe, Yasunosuke: Black Dragon member who went to Afghanistan in 1925 to set up a system of communications with the Turkmen organizations in Soviet Central Asia; at present director of the Afghanistan Club in Japan and the prime mover of Japanese anti-Soviet intrigue based in Afghanistan.
128. Tanaka, Bunichiro: consul-general in Alexandrovsk, USSR, since 1936 and authority on Russian frontier conditions, having graduated from the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages with a Russian major and having subsequently held positions in Vladivostok, Harbin, Odessa, Manchuli, and Petropavlovsk.



129. Tanaka, Ippei or Yasuhira (alias Haji Noor Muhammad): b. 1882-d. 1934; one of the foremost promoters of the Japanese Muslim policy and active worker in the field who trained a number of younger men to follow in his footsteps as converts to Islam.
130. Tateishi, Horyo: Colonel; Military Attaché in Ankara as of July 1942.
131. Togo, Shigenori: b. 1882; director of Afghanistan Club and former ambassador to Russia; before that in Berlin.
132. Togo, Tsushima: Japanese Muslim "worker" who worked himself into the position of secretary and treasurer of the Working Muslim Missionary Society in London; in the guise of this position, he developed a large number of contacts among Muslims of the world and was able to send propaganda to all the Muslim periodicals; present whereabouts unknown but was probably repatriated following outbreak of war with Japan.
133. Tokonami, Takejiro: organizer with Toyama of Japan Residents' Muslim League.
134. Tokugawa, Iyemasa: ex-Ambassador to Turkey and president of the Japan-Turkish Society.
135. Toyama, Mitsuru: b. 26 June 1855-d. October 1944; since 1879 the most powerful patriotic society figure in Japan; founder of the Black Ocean Society and the real force behind the Black Dragon Society.  
Tso Tung-shan. See Sakuma, Teijiuro.
136. Tsuda, Shizue: one of the East Asia One-Culture Society (Toa Dobunkai) directors as of 1939-40.
137. Tsunejiro, Toragoro: referred to as one of the two arms of Toyama (the other being Sugiyama) at a celebration in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of Toyama's acquaintance with Sugiyama in 1935; celebration arranged by Shindo (Shintaro) and Uchida.
138. Tsurumi, Sakio: managing director of the Japan-Turkish Society together with Masaji Inoue; industrialist, big oil and cotton man, and backer of Japanese infiltration into the cotton and oil Muslim areas of Russia.
139. Tsuruoka, Genjin: third secretary of the Embassy in Ankara as of July 1942.



140. Uchida, Ryohei: d. 1938; founder of the Black Dragon Society and one of the most remarkable minds in the field of subversion and intelligence; personally responsible for sabotage of Russian railways and fortifications, several uprisings in Russia, China, Korea, and Manchuria, and numberless other things; next to Toyama, the most powerful patriotic society man in Japan.
141. Uchida, Sadatsuchi: b. 1865; Ambassador to Turkey in 1920; patriotic society connections and background; President of the Japan-Turkish Society 1934-35.
142. Ueda, Sentaro: b. 1868; capable intelligence agent with Black Dragon connections; graduate of St. Petersburg Imperial University Law School and usually operating as "student interpreter"; has had a great deal of experience in Russia, both Tsarist and Soviet; associated with Akashi at one time; in Teheran 1932-37 and since then on special staff of Foreign Office, although officially retired.
143. Uehara, Aisan: b. 1907-d. 1936; one of the younger officers who became "converts" to Islam and began making trips to Mecca under Ippei Tanaka's guidance; like Isamu Masuko, he died while on the trip under mysterious circumstances, one version (Toa Senkaku) stating that he committed suicide following identification as a non-Muslim by the authorities and refusal to admit him to Mecca.
144. Uehara, Taichi (Yuan Shang-chih): b. 1883-d. 1916; Black Dragon and simultaneously army spy in Russian Central Asia (Tashkent).
145. Ura, Keiichi (Sung Ssu-chai): member of the Rakuzendo; as a very young man in April 1890 he set out for Russian Central Asia posing as a Chinese; if alive, should be in late sixties or seventies; last reported in Burma.
146. Wakabayashi, Kyuman: b. 1891-d. 1923; brother of Nakabe Wakabayashi and worker for the Japanese Muslim policy in China; left many disciples including his brother Nakabe.
147. Wakabayashi, Nakabe: brother of Kyuman; author of Mohammedan World and Japan; trusted aid of Toyama in the Muslim infiltration; has made many trips to Muslim countries and has been active in recruiting personnel among the younger officers.
148. Waro, Moriya: Japanese Minister to Afghanistan in 1939.

149. Washio, Yoshinao: Inukai's biographer.
150. Watanabe, Dr. Ko: surgeon in Japanese Legation in Kabul; wife and child with him in Kabul; he arrived there in November 1938 and was there as of July 1943.
151. Watanabe, Mizutaro (Michitaro): industrialist and one of the managing directors of the Nippon-Hungary Association or Tokyo Nippon Hangarii Kyokai which stresses Pan-Turanism; also a director of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association.
152. Watanabe, S.: attaché in Japanese Legation in Kabul as of July 1943.
153. Yamada, Kinosuke: b. 1859-d. 1913; one of the signers of the Muslim Pact of 1909.
154. Yamama, Muhammad Ahmad: a young Japanese ostensibly converted to Islam by an Egyptian journalist, Badran Zeidar in Kabul; studied at al-Azhar University in 1935.
155. Yamamoto, Taro: one of the group of young officers ostensibly converted to Islam; following a trip to Mecca in 1932 with Ippei Tanaka, stayed in Afghanistan until 1941, ostensibly "studying Muslim conditions."
156. Yamamoto, Tatsuro: student of "Muslim conditions" in East Asia and frequent contributor of articles on the subject to historical periodicals.
157. Yamancuchi, Iwao: member of Arac's Rakuzendo.
158. Yamaoka, Kotaro: the first Japanese to reach Mecca; investigated the Muslim areas of the Near East and the Caucasus from 1898 to 1910; then accompanied Ibrahim to Russia but was apprehended by Russian military police and barely escaped; in 1932 he was active in the Society of Light with Teijiro Sakuma in Shanghai.
159. Yoshida, Eizo: Japanese student in Kabul, 22 January 1943.
160. Yoshida, Masaharu: d. 1921: one of the earliest proponents of the Japanese Muslim policy; sent to Russia and the Near East on a good will tour by Foreign Minister Inoue in 1880.

B. RUSSIAN AND SOVIET NATIONALS

161. Abdul, Haq: a "man in a foreign country across the border from Soviet Turkestan plotting with an imperialist power having designs on Soviet territory" was named defendant in absentia and identified as refugee from the Soviet Union and former follower of Enver Pasha during the Muslim treason trials in Kokhand, October - November 1935.

Abdul Haziz Maxum. See Maxumov, Abdul Haziz.

Abdul Karim Bochia. See Bochia, Muhammad Abdul Karim.

162. Abdul Majid or Majidov: pro-German businessman in Kabul; very influential.

Abdul Muttalib Satybaldyev. See Satybaldyev, Abdul Muttalib.

Abdur Rahim. See Rahim, Mullah M.

Abdur Rahman effendi Kerimi. See Bochia, Muhammad Abdul Karim.

Abdur Rashid Ibrahim. See Ibrahim, Abdur Rashid.

163. Akchura, Yusuf-bey Oghlu (in Russian, Usuf Akchurin; in German, Yussuf attschura Oglu; in Central Europe, Youssouf, Oglu, Aktchoura): member of the Administrative Council of the Turko-Tatars in the Far East in 1941 and descendant of a very wealthy Kazan Tatar family who owned large woolen mills in Tsarist Russia; great authority on Pan-Turanism.

Akchurin, Yusuf-bey or Usuf. See Akchura, Yusuf-bey Oghlu.

Aliev, Gurban. See Gurban Ali.

Aliev, Sultan. See Galiev, Sultan.

164. Ata mali bek: active in the Grey Wolf Society (Bozkurt) and the leader of the Azerbaijan National Committee organized in Berlin to work for Azerbaijan independence from the Soviet Union.

Attschura, Yussuf, Oglu: See Akchura, Yusuf-bey.

Ayas Ishaqi. See Ishaqi, Iyad.



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165. Azef: notorious agent-provocateur of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party who had dealings with Akashi while the latter was enlisting Ibrahim's help in Russia for the Russo-Japanese war, . . .
166. Balinov, Schamba: chairman of the Kalmyck National Committee in Berlin.
167. Barudy, Galimjan, Mufti: d. 1920; organized White Russian regiments in Siberia with Japanese help 1918-20.
168. Bochia, Abdul-Karin, or Muhammad Abdul Karim: head of the Muslim refugees from Soviet Russia in Kobe previous to his death in 1935; active in collecting money for the building of the Kobe mosque.  
Bogia. See Bochia, Abdul-Karim.
169. Buldra, Frantisek: employed by the German Minister Pilger in Kabul for anti-Soviet espionage; died recently.
170. Fahrudinov: director of the Central Muslim League in USSR: arrested and tried for heading Japanese espionage at the trial held in Eravna, Buriat-Mongolia, April 1939; in Tsarist Russia was associate of Akchura and Ishaqi in Muslim activities.  
Galiev, Gurban. See Qurban Ali (Kurbangaliev).
171. Galiev, Sultan: headed a movement for Muslim autonomy in Soviet Central Asia under the guise of party activities; native of Tashkent; tried for treason in connection with "autonomous movement supported by a foreign power" and executed in Tashkent, 1930; separatist movement of Central Asiatic Muslims has been named "Sultangalievschina" after him.
172. Gapon, Father: notorious agent-provocateur; had relations with Akashi.
173. Gasin, U.: represented Tatar Muslims at the Second Far-Eastern Congress of Turko-Tatars sponsored by the Japanese and held in Mukden, August 1941.
174. Gasprinsky, Ismail: editor of the Tatar newspaper Tardjuman in the Crimea which was approached by the Japanese to send a representative to Japan.

175. Ghulam Muhammad: Kokhand Muslim who escaped from Soviet territory around 1928 and is now active in anti-Soviet plots.
176. Hadjet-Lache (alias Em. Es., alias Muhammad-Beg Hadji Lache-Skagauche, alias Mr. X, alias M. Tatarine, alias M. Muslim, alias M-S, alias M. Aishin): Okhrana agent who investigated Pan-Islamic underground activities in Russian Muslim areas in 1907; later agent-provocateur and participant in the notorious "Stockholm Murders" of pro-Soviet Russians in Sweden; has worked as secret agent for many governments including Turkey; fluent writer, a talented but pathological character; present whereabouts unknown.
177. Hasbiulin, Mullah Muhammad: represented the Harbin Turko-Tatars at the Second Far Eastern Turko-Tatar Congress, in Mukden, August 1941.
178. Hasukoff: described by Teijiro Sakuma as leading spirit in the Idel-Ural Turko-Tatar Culture Association of Manchuria in 1938; possibly the same man as Saccaf, Sheikh Muhammad, who represented Japanese interests in Hedjaz in 1935 and was referred to as a Tatar Muslim from Manchuria.
179. Hilal Mudji (Mudzi): leader with Ata mali bek of the Azerbaijan National Committee in Berlin and "Voice of Azerbaijan" to Russia on Berlin broadcasts.
180. Ibrahim, Abdur Rashid (alias A. Ibrahimov in Russian, Ibrahim Shimitlo in Japanese, I-pu-la-hsing in Chinese); d. September 1944, noted Muslim Propagandist and formerly espionage agent, resided in Japan.  
  
Ibrahimov, A. or R. See Ibrahim, Abdur Rashid.  
  
I-pu-la-hsing. See Ibrahim, Abdur Rashid.  
  
Ishaki or Ishakov, Ayas. See Ishaqi, Iyad, below.
181. Ishaqi, Iyad or Ayas and in Russian Ishakov: leader of the Tatar independence movement from the Soviet Union in Europe and the Far East.
182. Kalmykov, Capt.: a brigand posing as anti-Bolshevik leader with Japanese support.

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Kerimi, Abdur Rahman effendi. See Bochia, Muhammad Abdul-Karim..

183. Klimovich, Lucian: Muslim scholar in the Soviet Union and author of numerous works on the Muslims of Russia.
184. Kolchak, Alexander, Admiral: White Russian leader in Siberia whose prestige the Japanese worked to undermine by supporting Qurban Ali, Kalmykov, Semenov, etc.

Kurbangali or Kurbangaliyev. See Qurban Ali.

185. Kursh Irmat or Kurshimat: aide to late Enver Pasha and named as defendant in absentia at the Muslim treason trials in Kokhand, October-November 1935, for organizing espionage on behalf of an "imperialist power" across the border from Soviet Turkestan.

Majidov. See Abdul Majid.

186. Maxumov, Abdul Aziz or Abdul Haziz Maxum: named espionage agent of a foreign imperialist power in Kokhand in November 1935 but fled abroad before being apprehended; an associate of Kursh Irmat.
187. Mir Yakub: refugee from Azerbaijan and an associate of Iyad Ishaqi who called on Polish President Sikorski with Ishaqi in London 1941.
188. Mubashir Khan: Uzbek refugee from the Soviet Union in Kabul involved in anti-Soviet plots.

Muhammad Abdul Hai Qurban Ali. See Qurban Ali.

Muhammad Abdul Karim Bochia, See Bochia, Muhammad Abdul-Karim.

189. Qari, Sadullah: Uzbek refugee from Tashkent in Kabul, very anti-Soviet and pro-Axis.
190. Qurban Ali, Muhammad Abdul Hai (alias Kurban Aliev, Kurbangali, and Kurbangaliyev): leader of independent Bashkiria movement who has been living in Japan or Japanese-occupied territory since 1924 and training underground workers for the Muslim areas of Soviet Russia.



191. Rahim or Rahimov, Mullah, M.: succeeded Mullah M. Shamuni as head of the Far Eastern Turko-Tatars at a congress held in Mukden in August 1941.

Saccaf, Sheikh Muhammad. See Hasukoff.

192. Sadr-ud-Din, Mufti: Uzbek refugee from Tashkent who escaped from Soviet Russia to Iran and thence to Kabul in 1940; a key person in anti-Soviet espionage based in Iran and Afghanistan; has much influence with the Uzbeks and contacts through Soviet Muslim areas; has methods of communicating with these contacts.
193. Salciyev, H. I.: A Russian Tatar in Harbin and chairman of the Japanese-sponsored Turko-Tatar Administrative Council.
194. Satybaldyev, Abdul Muttalib: with his organization, which cooperated with foreign powers in espionage, was exposed during the treason trials of Muslim clergy in Kokhand, October-November 1935.
195. Semenov, Ataman or General: Siberian cossack whose separatist Siberian government around Chita was sponsored by the Japanese in 1919 and who has since then been living in Manchuria, active in Anti-Soviet intrigue.

Sham Gani, Iman, See Shamuni, Madiar Hazret.

196. Shamuni or Shamunin, Madiar Hazret: also referred to as Iman Sham Gani; was leader of the Kobe Muslims and head of the Turko-Tatar Far Eastern Congress before his death in Japan in 1940.
197. Sharinov, Nabiljan: acted as courier between Abdul Muttalib Satybaldyev and Abdul Haq; exposed at treason trials in Kokhand 1935 as agent of foreign powers.
198. Solmaz, Mrs. Hatice: a Russian Tatar refugee in Kabul, servant and mistress of German engineer Walther, July 1941; actively anti-Soviet.

Sultan Ali. See Galiev, Sultan.

Sultangaliev. See Galiev, Sultan.

199. Tadjimanov (in Japanese referred to as Jemianofu): director of the Central Muslim League of U.S.S.R. Exposed as German-Japanese agent and executed in Erevan, Buria-Mongolia, April 1939.
200. Tchekai, Mustafa: president of the Central Asia Islamic Nations Revolutionary League formed in 1921; since then active in the Grey Wolf Society and anti-Soviet propaganda among the Muslims.
- Tchekaieff, M.A. See Tchekai, Mustafa.
201. Thomas, Emile: Russian-born German in Dar-ul-Fanun, Afghanistan, who receives a small allowance from Abdul Majid
202. Ungern von Sternberg, Baron: Japanese-sponsored leader of the Autonomous Mongol Empire to extend from Manchuria to the Caspian; captured and shot by the Soviet government in 1921.
203. Usmanov, Mumin: public prosecutor in the Muslim treason trials held in Kokhand, Soviet Turkestan, October-November 1935.
204. Vitkovski: an anti-Soviet Russian in Kabul, active in anti-Soviet propaganda; in Manchuria around 1934.
205. X, Mr.: son of Ibrahim who came to Japan after the Russo-Japanese War to be educated at the expense of the Black Dragon Society and left following completion of education to "work for his cause."
206. Yanguraji: described by Sakuma as a Tatar in Tokyo and active supporter of the Tokyo mosque.
- C. Other Nationals:
207. Abdul Kerim Khan: founded a general trading company called the Shirkat-k-Karimi in Kabul in 1935 and tried to negotiate for trade facilities with Japanese companies.
208. Abdul Karim, Prince: rumored to have been meant by the Japanese to head the autonomous Muslim state in Central Asia in 1934; nephew of the last Sultan of Turkey.
209. Abudur Rahim Kan: General; reported anti-Soviet in 1935 and not averse to setting up an independent state of parts of Afghanistan and Soviet Russia; has large estates near Kushk.

- 210. Ali Ahmad (al-Jarjawi): editor of an Egyptian paper Al-Irshad; invited to Japan in 1906 and subsequently has written Japanese propaganda.
- 211. Aman al-Husaini: Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, with German and Japanese connections.
- 212. Amanullah: King of Afghanistan until 1928; since then exiled and living in Italy.
- 213. Ata Muhammad Khan: son of late Sardar Abdullah Khan and one of the Afghan officials who was secretly ordered to render assistance to Enver Pasha when the latter tried to set up an independent Muslim state in Central Asia in 1922; in Russia in 1929.
- 214. Bac, Muhammad: chargé d'affaires of the Turkish Embassy in Kabul, interested in Pan-Turanism and said to have used Muhammad Beg and his agents to collect materials on conditions in Russian Central Asia.
- 215. Barakatullah, Muhammad: d. 1928; Indian Muslim who was active in the East Asia One-Culture Society, the Reawakening of Asia Society, and the Black Dragon Society; connections with Japan began in 1909; in Russia in 1920; returned to Japan but was deported on British insistence.
- 216. Bose, Subhas Chandra: Indian nationalist flown to Japan from Berlin recently while Iyad Ishaqi returned from the Far East to Europe.
- 217. Chang Te-ch'un: director of Islamic Cultural Institute, established by the Japanese in Dairen.
- 218. Cioban-oghlu: Turkish teacher in Manchuria who writes Muslim propaganda for the Japanese.
- 219. Dariyus: chief of Teheran Radio Station; suspected of engaging in Japanese propaganda in 1942.
- 220. Darugar: wealthy soap manufacturer in Iran; suspected of spreading Japanese propaganda.



221. Enver Pasha: following expulsion from Turkey after the first World War proceeded via Moscow to Russian Central Asia where tried to set up an independent Pan-Turkic state; successful for a while but finally his followers were routed, many fled to Afghanistan and Sinkiang, and he himself was killed in a border skirmish with the Red Army in 1922. Arrests of his followers in Turkey took place in 1928 and many more fled Turkey and Russia to Afghanistan in later years. These elements are the backbone of anti-Soviet intrigue in Afghanistan used by the Japanese and the Germans for their own purposes. Most of Enver-Pasha's adherents, like himself, will look for support to anyone likely to promise help to the setting up of an independent Pan-Turanic and Muslim state. Thus their connection with the Grey Wolf Society which has similar aims and their susceptibility to German and Japanese promises.
222. Fadli, Ahman: associate of Barakatullah; once published Islamic Fraternity in Tokyo; Egyptian.
223. Fakhr ul-Islam: of Teheran went to the Tokyo Religious Congress of 1906 as delegate from the Russian Caucasus.
224. Kaya, Kemal: a Turkish officer who fled Turkey to Manchuria and then became adviser to General Ma Chung-ying in Sinkiang in 1931; suspected of being both a Japanese and/or Soviet spy.
225. Muhammad Amin: ex-amir of Khotan; works for Hans Pilger and has probably also supplied information to the Japanese; in return for organization work in Tadjikistan, Sinkiang, and Tibet is to be given enlarged territories and remade Amir.
226. Pilger, Hans: German Minister in Kabul and active in anti-Soviet activities.
227. Quaroni, Pietro: Italian Minister in Kabul, actively cooperated with the German and Japanese embassies until the fall of Italy; subsequently Badoglio government's Minister to Moscow.
228. Tarzi, Habibullah Khan: b. 1897 in Kabul; Afghan Minister in Japan since 1933.
229. Tirazi, Sayyid Mubashir Khan: published articles on the Muslims in Japan in Kabul Review.
230. Zedan, Badran: Egyptian teacher and journalist in Kabul who, supposedly, converted Muhammad Ahmad Yamama to Islam in 1935.

APPENDIX IIIMUSLIMS IN THE USSR

A. Location and Distribution. The Muslims in Russia occupy almost the whole southern periphery of the country stretching from the Tatar settlements along the Trans-Siberian Railway through Central Asia to the shores of the Caspian and the Black seas. Between the Volga and the Urals they drive a wedge into Russian territory, practically separating European Russia from Siberia. Along the Trans-Siberian Railway, they reach Manchuria. With the exception of Georgia and Armenia on the Turkish border, the entire southern frontier of Russia--touching Persia, Afghanistan, and Sinkiang--is Muslim.

Economically the Muslim belt includes the wealthiest regions of the country. It is the source of Caucasian oil, Central Asiatic cotton and cattle, and of the mineral wealth of the lower Urals, at present the seat of important war industries and metallurgical plants.

The predominantly Muslim Turkic peoples of Russia are numerically the most important single non-Russian group in the Soviet Union. Today there are over twenty million Muslims in the USSR. For over a generation they have formed about 12 percent of the total population of the country. (See table on the following page.)

B. Affinity to Neighboring Muslim States. In spite of a variety of tongues, the predominance of Turki dialects makes cultural intercourse between the tribes possible and establishes a tie with Turkey.

Table 1. MUSLIM NATIONALITIES IN THE USSR ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 17 JANUARY 1939\*

Nationality	Number of persons with families*	Percentage of total population of USSR
Uzbeks	4,884,021	2.36
Tatar	4,300,336	2.54
Kazak	3,098,764	1.83
Azerbaijan	2,274,805	1.34
Tadjik	1,228,964	.72
Kirgiz	834,306	.52
Dagestan	857,371	.50
Bashkir	842,925	.50
Turkmen	811,769	.48
Chechen	407,690	.24
Karakalpak	135,775	.11
Kabardin	164,106	.10
Ingush	92,074	.05
Adygei	87,973	.05
Karachaeu	75,737	.04
Abhaz (mixed)	58,969	.03
Kurda	45,866	.03
Balkar	42,666	.03
Iranian	39,037	.02
Arab	21,793	.01
TOTAL	20,362,947	12.00

\*Sulkevich, S. TERRITORIA I NASELENIE SSSR 1940. Abstracted from table on page 15.



The proximity of Persia and Afghanistan and the use of Iranian by such groups as the Tadjik and some Caucasus tribes further cement the traditional affinity to these two Muslim states. The predominantly Turki population of Sinkiang has its counterpart on the other side of the border in the Soviet republics of Kazakstan and Kirgizistan.

C. Muslim Sects. The majority of the Russian Muslims are Sunnites, although Shiites are found in the Caucasus and in parts of Turkestan. Shamanism has survived to some degree in Kazakstan and is practiced side by side with Islam.

D. Absorption into the USSR. With the exception of the Tatars, the majority of these Muslim peoples were conquered by the Russians as late as the nineteenth century. Tsarist attempts to hinder the spread of Islam and to make the Muslim tribes pay taxes to the Russian government led to an intense anti-Russian feeling strengthened by religious, cultural, and racial differences. Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkic ideas found a ready welcome, since they held out hope of religious and political liberation from the Russians.

Immediately after the Russian Revolution of 1917, nationalist republics claiming autonomous status were set up for these Muslim areas. The first republican governments were headed by nationalist intellectuals, occasionally of moderate socialist sympathies. As the Bolshevik movement with its international orientation swept the country, it resulted here as elsewhere in a fratricidal war

between the leftists of an international bent on the one side and the nationalists and moderates on the other. Among the latter were Muslim clergy and the wealthier classes, while the former were represented by the city proletariat and returned soldiers.

Here the civil strife went on long after the Civil War subsided in other parts of Russia. Throughout the late twenties and early thirties border skirmishes still broke out. Trains were attacked by bands of dissenters who usually escaped across the border into Persia or Afghanistan only to emerge again, often supplied with foreign arms.

The educational system of 1928 indicated the comparative degree of peace attained. Literacy came with communist propaganda and the Five-Year Plan. With the exception of religion, national cultures were encouraged. Schooling was in native dialects. Phonetic alphabets were invented where none had previously existed. Folk dancing, drama, and literature received national acclaim, and native troupes toured Russia at government expense. The most energetic and talented youths, provided they were of proletarian origin, went to communist universities to study. The new republics began to develop a sense of their own importance as they sent delegates to the All-Union Congress and were acclaimed sister republics in the Soviet Union.

E. Elements of Opposition. Opposition to the new order came from the Muslim clergy. With the fall of Tsarism, they lost their

subsidies and their right to teach the young. The forced collectivization program of the early thirties swelled the ranks of dissenters and brought a new flare-up of opposition, passive as well as active. Arrests and deportations of those not willing to cooperate left in their wake a bitterness not easily dissolved. When 1938, the year of the big purge, came even some of the foremost officials of local communist parties in Muslim areas were found to have been in touch with the enemy abroad and to have surreptitiously supported sabotage of the collective farms.

The outbreak of the war with Germany in 1941 found the Muslim borderlands strengthened by Soviet discipline. Industrialization was going full speed, and the population, willingly or unwillingly, was being swept into increased efforts toward defense and armament.

















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